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RELATIONS IN EDUCATION BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND
TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH IN THE MACKENZIE DISTRICT,
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, 1867-1961

By

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A THESIS
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to trace the role of the Roman

Catholic church as an initiator of formal educational institutions

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis
entitled "Relations in Education Between the Federal and Territorial
Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District,
Northwest Territories, 1867-1961," submitted by Robert J. Carney
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to trace the role of the Roman Catholic church as an initiator of formal educational institutions; to outline modifications in its schooling programmes in an evolving frontier environment; and to consider the extent to which it influenced government agencies and departments in the formulation of educational policies for all classes of children in the territories. Within the general parameters of the foundation of the Fort Providence mission school in 1867 and the Hay River separate school in 1961, the narrative is divided into three parts: the first (1867-1921) examines the process of Euro-Canadian aboriginal contact, the logistics of Catholic school establishment, and the government's role in sustaining this enterprise; the second (1921-1945) analyzes certain social and administrative changes resulting from natural resource development and the character of the church-state schooling entente, especially in terms of its effect upon ethnic groups and the goals of Catholic proselytism; the third (1945-1961) identifies the major themes of the study in a post-war setting, with particular reference to the state's gradual ascendancy in educational affairs and the concomitant decline in Catholic influence.

The working alliance between the Catholic church and the government in the educational affairs of the Mackenzie prevailed until the end of the second world war when the demands of Euro-Canadians prompted the state to break the entente. Until then, the missionaries

were virtually sovereign in schooling matters. Both church and state, with some misgivings, notably among a few missionaries, generally agreed that the native-wilderness equation was the best means of resolving the problems resulting from white-native contact. Neither agency seemed concerned about the lack of native involvement in deciding the character of programmes designed for them; in any event, the state appeared confident that the native-wilderness equation was a sound model not only for its aboriginal charges, but also for the church, whose overtures for more elaborate policies and extended systems frustrated the government's design and demonstrated the state's own basic inconsistency.

In reviewing the evolution of federal educational strategy, the following general conclusions were reached. First, it is apparent that the state used the church to achieve northern sovereignty, to pacify and control the native people, and to act as agent for a carefully funded and deliberate educational programme. Second, as mediator between the churches, the state attempted to delineate respective areas of proselytism, thereby limiting the objectives of Catholic churchmen, in particular; and at the same time by yielding to ecclesiastical pressure the state fostered a system of sectarian education until such time as the advent of a non-Catholic white minority led it to break its alliance with the churches. However, by failing to establish educational programmes in keeping with the needs of the native people, the state made it virtually impossible for them to achieve much more than what had been envisaged in the native-wilderness equation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AACHT:	Anglican Archives Church House Toronto.
<u>AGR:</u>	<u>Auditor General's Report.</u>
<u>ARCMP:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.</u>
<u>ARDI:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of the Interior.</u>
<u>ARDI(NWT):</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (Northwest Territories Yukon Branch)</u>
<u>ARDIA:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs.</u>
<u>ARDMR:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of Mines And Resources.</u>
<u>ARDMR(IAB):</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Resources(Indian Affairs Branch).</u>
<u>ARDMR(NTY):</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Resources (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch).</u>
<u>ARDNANR:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.</u>
<u>ARDRD:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Department of Resources and Development.</u>
<u>ARMDE:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Manitoba Department of Education.</u>
<u>ARNWMP:</u>	<u>Annual Report of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police.</u>
AVM:	Archives of the Vicariate of the Mackenzie, Fort Smith, N.W.T.
<u>Commons Debates:</u>	<u>Official Debates of the House of Commons of Canada.</u>
COOI:	Commission Oblates Oeuvres Indiennes. (Indian Welfare and Training Oblate Commission).

CPTA: Catholic Parent Teacher Association.

CRCAR: Canadian Social Science Research Council Annual Report.

CSP: Canada Sessional Papers.

EI(G): Ecoles Indiennes(Grants), AVM.

EP: Ebner Papers, Grandin College, Fort Smith, N.W.T.

IABS: Indian Affairs Black Series, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

IAO: Files of the Education Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration and Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

LBE,SAS: Letterbook, Board of Education, Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon.

LC TAYK: Letters to the Council of the Territories, Archives of the Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife.

LP: Lesage Papers, Grandin College, Fort Smith, N.W.T.

MCEA: Mackenzie Catholic Education Association.

MDRP: Mackenzie Delta Research Project Report, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Minutes: Minutes of the Northwest Territories Council.

NANR: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

NCRC: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre Reports, NANR, Ottawa.

NWTTA: Northwest Territories Teachers' Association.

OAE: Oblate Archives, Edmonton.

PAC: Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

<u>RAGC:</u>	<u>Report of the Auditor General of Canada.</u>
RCO:	Records Centre, Government of Canada, Ottawa.
SBL:	School Branch Letterbook, Department of Indian Affairs, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
<u>Senate Debates:</u>	<u>Official Debates of the Senate of Canada.</u>
SGM:	Archives Srs. Grises de Montréal, Maison-Mère, Montreal, Québec.
SOE:	Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Education, Government of the Northwest Territories.
TAU:	Territorial Archives, Unclassified, Ottawa.
TAYK:	Archives of the Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife.
V&P:	Votes and Proceedings, Council of the Northwest Territories.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study is the expansion, consolidation and dissolution of Roman Catholic schools in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories during the period from 1867 to 1961, and the character of educational relations between the church and the territorial and federal governments. To a frontier governed by trader and missionary, with their separate yet compatible designs for an aboriginal commonwealth, police, entrepreneurs, and civil servants came to the region accepting almost without reservation, the sovereignty of the fur posts and mission stations over the native population. In time, however, the lines of communication on educational policies between the Catholic church and the federal and territorial governments became restrictive as the white population increased. Understanding was limited by differences in language and religion; and by the fact that most missionaries were vocationally committed to a northern apostolate, while most government officers involved in the discussion over schools either saw the north as a temporary posting or were far removed from the area. When it is noted that native groups showed scant interest in the type of education provided them, the overall schooling objectives of the period are difficult to distinguish.

Of the two parties in the pre - 1945 era the church had more confidence in the worth of the process, believing that schooling, which established orthodox religious attitudes and behavioral patterns was a direct means of improving the spiritual as well as the secular welfare of the aborigines. To the missionary, formal schooling was not a temporary affair awaiting replacement by

secular and public systems; it was an integral and continuing part of proselytism as well as a means of maintaining orthodoxy in the northern frontier.

Although missionary schooling, subsequently supported by legislative action and formal agreement, stimulated and at the same time controlled government involvement in northern education, the confessional system ultimately proved to be irreconcilable with the interests of those who came to the district after 1940. Quite apart from formal agreements concerning religious issues, church-state schooling relations had profound racial implications. The latter, rather than denominational questions, were often the subject of discussions and, more important, were to have the most lasting effect on the life chances of native groups. Church and state authorities, at least to 1945, agreed in principle that the inevitable destination for most native people was the trapping and hunting life. Government officers were particularly committed to this objective, believing that a wilderness existence would not only keep aborigines law-abiding and self-sufficient, but that it would also keep them away from centres of non-renewable resource development where their presence was superfluous. Accordingly, the native-wilderness equation proved to be of crucial importance in discussions over schools; so much so in fact, that whenever the church attempted to extend the length of schooling or improve its form, it was invariably unsuccessful in obtaining government support. Although some missionaries had misgivings about the limited schooling opportunities given native peoples and attempted with their own resources to improve their chances, the

government's viewpoint that the wilderness was a panacea for all native ills and that all schooling should be directed toward this end, reinforced the traditionalist position held by most missionaries.

This system became untenable when it was subjected to criticism by white settlers in places like Yellowknife. Once their demands for special schooling arrangements were met by the establishment of public and non-denominational schools, the discrepancy between them and native confessional schools became so apparent that the old educational entente, which was already compromised, could no longer be sustained without its racialist overtones becoming obvious. Whether or not the decision to integrate native schooling in a public system was to avoid further criticism is not important; what is important is that the state, without consulting its missionary partners, adopted a programme of provincial schooling for general application which was suited only to a minority of the district's school enrollment, retaining at the same time certain religious characteristics of the old system to mollify Catholic educational interests.

The church, on the other hand, instead of viewing the abandonment of the wilderness-equation as a long-awaited change in government policy, believed that the change was an attempt to break the religious system, which in turn was viewed increasingly as being realizable only in a traditional context. Thus the church's experience, especially its understanding of native cultural patterns, was not only arbitrarily excluded from new school programmes, but it was also in many cases deliberately withheld. Moreover, the government, fearing that missionaries would take advantage of improved subsidies to promote their denominational interests, determined to reduce such opportunities

by restricting the use of religious textbooks, the display of religious symbols, and the length of catechetical instruction. Overwhelmed by what they considered to be the perfidy of their former colleagues, vicariate officials were determined not to abandon their educational institutions easily. If the secular destiny of the native people was henceforth to be exclusively in the hands of the government, the church might accede to this; but it would not yield to secular authorities in matters of religious schooling. Having decided upon this course of action, the church moved to determine the extent of its jurisdiction and to maintain rigidly whatever boundaries had been marked.

Following the territorial Council's adoption of Andrew Moore's Report in 1945, the church gradually became aware that the die had been cast for what it termed 'neutral' or 'secular' education. The system of mission schools, subject to increasing governmental scrutiny and control in the decade following the report, disbanded soon after Jean Lesage's announcement of a new schooling programme for the territories in March 1955. While vestiges of denominationalism remained within the federal educational system, their worth and influence, insofar as missionaries were concerned, were at best token remnants of an aboriginal commonwealth which they had previously been encouraged to fashion and direct. The new social order, notwithstanding such special arrangements as separate schools or residences, was henceforth to be determined by the state, whose ambitions in terms of the outcomes of school programmes were far more messianic and chiliastic in tone than that ever envisaged by its former agents. Whatever the outcome, there

was no doubt in the minds of either party that the mission frontier had ended.

Need for the Study

The relationship between the Roman Catholic church and the state in education is immediately apparent to anyone viewing the present educational establishment in the Mackenzie District. Because of a series of agreements and legislative enactments, some of them ante-dating the present century, a unique and complex system of confessional and separate schools came to exist throughout the territorial district.

This study attempts to trace this development with the expectation that the work will not only be of historical significance, but also will provide those who are presently concerned with policy or are affected by the system with an explanation of its background and rationale.

Statement of the General Problem

The main purpose of this study is to examine church-state relations concerning education in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories from 1867 to 1961, with particular reference to the interests of the Roman Catholic church in formal or in-school educational institutions within this political area.

Statement of Sub-problems

1. To trace the role of the church as an initiator of private educational institutions and their implications upon subsequent church-state relations.
2. To assess the influence of the church upon federal departments and

agencies in the formulation of educational programmes and policies.

3. To review territorial legislation and its effect on Catholic educational institutions and policies and to determine the influence of Catholic educational interests upon such legislation.
4. To review the degree of government involvement in confessional education and its private and public pronouncements concerning such participation.
5. To compare and contrast the general goals of the church and the state in formal education in the Mackenzie District.

Delimitations of the Study

The delimitations of the study are as follows:

1. No attempt will be made to review the educational activity of missionary agencies other than those of the Roman Catholic church. Reference will be made, however, to the policies of other missionary churches or sects, whenever the latter influence or retard the educational goals of the Roman Catholic church.
2. The study will be concerned with the formal or in-school education of all Roman Catholic children regardless of class or ethnic origin. The study will not examine informal or out-of-school educational activities initiated by the church whether or not such activities were directly or indirectly supported by the state. The study will, however, review those educational activities, such as nurses' training, initiated by the Roman Catholic church that subsequently were advanced as endeavours eligible for state subsidy.
3. The study will be based essentially on the correspondence of

church authorities, that is, the writings of bishops, priests, sisters, and laymen who played a significant role in the articulation and implementation of educational policies; and those appointed or elected representatives and other governmental authorities who were directly concerned with educational matters.

4. The study will examine only those aspects of curriculum and management of territorial schools that have been the subject of discussion because of their religious connotations.
5. The study will begin with events leading to the establishment of the first school at Fort Providence in 1867 and end with an examination of the establishment of the Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School District in 1961.
6. The study will not assess the overall effectiveness of Roman Catholic schools as acculturation agencies, or as instruments promoting secular skills and values, or in terms of their desired behavioral or ideological outcomes, but will deal with these matters only in so far as they have been the subject of conversations between church and state authorities.

Review of Related Literature

Lupul's¹ study is a definitive examination of educational relations between the Catholic church and state in the Northwest Territories from 1880 to 1905. Referring particularly to separate and public schooling in the Diocese of St. Albert, it necessarily excludes a review of Indian school policies as well as the effect of territorial school legislation upon the remote, and after 1905, residual District of

Mackenzie. The only studies of church-state schooling relations in the district are by the Oblates, Lesage² and Kroetch.³ Lesage's report, which is based largely on primary documents, is partisan, often polemical, and is restricted to the evolution of Catholic schooling in Fort Simpson. Kroetch's study is a sketchy outline of schooling arrangements in the district after 1945 that relies, except for some letters, on secondary references.

Most of the published Catholic sources on the Mackenzie emphasize the labours and the concomitant success of missionary personnel. Taché⁴ outlines the logistics of the Catholic advance, of which schooling had yet to play its part; Faraud⁵ has virtually nothing to say about schooling; Grouard,⁶ except for some references to Providence, is primarily concerned with mission schools in the Athabasca. On the other hand, Breynat,⁷ in line with his expansionistic tendencies, and Duchaussois,⁸ exude optimism about the worth of Catholic schooling in the district. Breton⁹ all but ignores the significance of schooling among the Rabbitskin, as do Buliard¹⁰ and De Coccola¹¹ in their accounts of the central Arctic Eskimo.

Anglican sources comment only occasionally on the schools of either denomination. Accounts by Bompas,¹² Whittaker,¹³ and Fleming,¹⁴ in addition to providing valuable ethnological information, are more anecdotal and less intensive in tone than most Catholic works, but like them, contain few references to schools.

Promising accounts of the Mackenzie by early explorers such as Hearne,¹⁵ Mackenzie,¹⁶ Rae,¹⁷ and Franklin¹⁸ were largely replaced in the century following the latter's ill-fated expedition, by reminiscences of the kind written by De Poncins¹⁹ or Warburton Pike,²⁰ which

either relegate native groups to a state of irredeemable primitivism or ignore them entirely. Despite the promptings toward historical research inherent in Zaslow's²¹ monumental compilation (1947) on the Mackenzie Basin, Zaslow's own bias toward resource development foreshadowed a similar, yet more **intensive** preoccupation on the part of the federal government, when it finally sponsored a programme of northern research. The Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, adhering closely to its mentor's point of view, supported only those anthropological, economic or sociological inquiries which met some specific and defined departmental objective.²² The interest of historians, especially in the pre-1945, era were **evidently** too exotic for subsidy. The advent of such historical studies as Rea's,²³ Bovey's,²⁴ or Jenness',²⁵ in the past several years, however, has done much to document the pre-1945 era, but none of them, apart from some perfunctory references, have analyzed the church-state relationship, or more particularly the schooling characteristics of the entente. Recent chronologies on the North, such as Phillips',²⁶ tend to favour the federal government's response to the mission period of schooling, expressed in its standard form by Devitt,²⁷ that much was accomplished with limited funds, although occasional references are made to an opposite point of view, especially Mowat's,²⁸ that such schooling was both disruptive and non-adaptive. Two studies on northern education are underway at the Universities of Manitoba and Toronto;²⁹ however, neither was available at the time of writing. Standard works on confessional schools, such as Weir³⁰ or Sissons,³¹ do not comment on schooling in the residual territories and make only passing reference to

Indian schooling. The few independent studies on Indian schooling³² depend almost entirely on Indian Affairs Branch reports and statistics, and as historical surveys offer little more than that found in Waller's³³ uncritical compilation of the activities of his Department. The biographies and papers of such major political figures as Laurier³⁴ or Meighen,³⁵ not surprisingly, contain few northern references; even Lord Buchan,³⁶ the only notable to visit the Mackenzie before 1945, was not prompted to record more than several travel anecdotes.

Sources of Data

The sources of data for this study can be grouped into four general categories: (1) unpublished materials; (2) printed public documents; (3) interviews and inquiries; and (4) newspapers, pamphlets, and articles.

Unpublished Government Materials

The most important sources of unpublished government materials used in the study were the Ottawa registry files of the Northern Administration Branch (Department of Northern Affairs and Resources), the Indian Affairs Branch (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development), and documents relating to the above agencies and the Departments of Interior, Indian Affairs, Mines and Resources, and Resources and Development in the Records Centre, and the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa. Educational and related files of the Indian Affairs Branch and the Northern Administration Branch were researched at schools, pupil residences, regional and district offices at Inuvik, Yellowknife and Fort Smith; specific research was

also undertaken into the origins and patterns of schooling in the following settlements: Rocher River, Fort Resolution, Hay River, Fort Providence, Lac La Martre, Rae, Snowdrift, Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, Fort Liard, Nahanni Butte, Jean Marie River, Fort Simpson, Fort Wrigley, Fort Norman, Norman Wells, Fort Good Hope, Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Chesterfield Inlet. Several references to early territorial schools were reviewed at the Archives of Saskatchewan, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Unclassified documents on territorial schooling policies in the 1920-1940 period were seen at the office of the Territorial Archivist in Ottawa; other documents relating to territorial schooling policies were researched at the Public Archives; the most important were the letter books of Lieutenant Colonel F. White, first commissioner of the residual territories, and the microfilmed minutes of the territorial Council. Several memoranda in the departmental library in Ottawa, an uncatalogued collection of reports in the District Education Office in Fort Smith, as well as material in the offices of the Clerk of the Council and the Northwest Territories Historical Standing Committee in Yellowknife proved to be valuable.

Unpublished Roman Catholic Church Material

The most important sources of unpublished Catholic materials used in this study are the Lesage Papers, the Mackenzie-Athabasca letters and chroniques in the Archives of the Grey Nuns, the Archives of the vicariate of the Mackenzie, including the Breynat, Fallaize and Trocellier Papers, the documents and codici storici in the library

and archives of the Oblate Provincial House in Fort Smith, and the Ebner papers.

The Lesage Papers, composed of original church and government memoranda, as well as copies of correspondence between many of the principals involved in district schooling questions after 1930, were left with the investigator by Father Sylvio Lesage, an Oblate resident in the district from 1933 to 1965. About five hundred separate documents relating to educational matters were selected and filed separately and chronologically by **settlement**. These dossiers, together with the bulk of the papers, are stored at Grandin College in Fort Smith.

The codici storici of the Oblate Provincial House in Fort Smith provided data on mission establishments, personnel, and the activities of the Oblates and other religious in the Mackenzie, as well as information concerning the relationship between this ecclesiastical region and other areas of Catholic proselytism. The House library contains many mimeographed reports which were further supplemented by references reviewed in several missions, including Aklavik, Fort Good Hope, Fort Simpson, Fort Providence, and Fort Smith, as well as an excellent reference set of visitations, annual reports, and periodicals compiled and published by the Oblate Congregation. Additional data on the educational interests of the congregation was secured by reviewing the files of the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission in Ottawa.

Mention should also be made that research for data on certain events was undertaken at the following Anglican centres: Stringer

Hall (Inuvik), St. John's Church (Fort Smith), St. Peter's Church (Hay River), and at Church House (Toronto).

Although the Ebner Papers, a collection of documents on the Yellowknife and Hay River Roman Catholic Separate Schools, were reviewed principally for sections of the chapter on separate schools, dossiers containing approximately three thousand separate items also yielded a number of references on the pre-1945 era. The collection was left with the investigator by Father Francis Ebner, an Oblate who played an active role in the establishment of separate schools in the district, for cataloguing and storage at Grandin College.

Printed Public Documents

The following printed public documents were used extensively in the study: the census of Canada; the ordinances of the Northwest Territories; the statutes of the federal government; the annual reports of the Auditor General, the Royal North West Mounted Police, the Departments of Indian Affairs and Interior, and their lineal descendants. Occasional references were also made to the debates of the Senate and the House of Commons, the Canada Gazette, the sessional papers of the Government of the Northwest Territories, and the annual reports of the Canadian Social Science Research Council, the Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, and the Education Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Interviews and Inquiries

Interviews, often of an informal nature, were conducted with sisters, brothers, priests, and laymen who were directly involved in

the operation of mission, separate, and federal schools in the Mackenzie. Brief discussions on these schools were also held with Bishop P. Piché (Diocese of the Mackenzie), Bishop J. P. Mulvihill (former secretary of the Oblate Indian-Eskimo Commission), Bishop H. A. Cook (Suffragan Bishop of Athabaska), and Canon T. Jones (Director, Anglican Residential Schools). Reports, including interview notes of the investigator's survey of native schooling interests³⁷ were obtained from former pupils of Catholic day and residential schools as well as Anglican residential schools. In addition to data obtained from government officials active in the Mackenzie prior to the advent of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Development, information was secured from officers of the latter agency and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Over eighty inquiries were forwarded to various agencies and individuals. The most significant responses were from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Indian Affairs Branch, the Northern Affairs Branch, the Government of the Northwest Territories, the Public Archives, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the archivist of the Grey Nuns, the Rector of Grandin College, Dr. A. Moore of Winnipeg, and the Oblate provincial of the Mackenzie.

The study was prompted largely as a result of the writer's appointment (1962) as principal of the federal school at Fort Smith. Since then, except for university work, the investigator as a federal and, more recently, as a territorial education official has had the opportunity to review the issues of the study and to meet many of the principals concerned.

Newspapers, Pamphlets, and Periodicals.

Occasional references were made to the following provincial newspapers: The Toronto Star, Le Droit (Ottawa), The Edmonton Journal, and La Survivance (Edmonton). Yellowknife weekly newspapers, the

Prospector, Blade, and News of the North, were researched in detail, as was the vicariate's Courrier de Famille, the Oblate Missionary Information Bulletin, Church Bells (St. Ann's Mission, Hay River) and The Catholic Voice (Sacred Heart Parish, Fort Simpson). The most helpful school newsletters were Echo of Great Slave Lake (Resolution), The Voice of Our School (Aklavik), La Voix Amie and Our Link (Providence). Some information was also obtained from The Hay River Aurora and The Aklavik Journal.

The most significant Catholic pamphlets were Pius XI's The Christian Education of Youth; ³⁸ Pocock's (Bishop of Saskatoon) Why a Catholic School?; ³⁹ Cormack's Minority Report, Alberta Royal ⁴⁰ Commission on Education; The Alberta Catholic Education Association Bulletin; reports of the Mackenzie Catholic Education and the Catholic Parent-Teacher Associations; letters and reports to the separate school ratepayers in Yellowknife and Hay River; and Father Lesage's and Haramburu's circulars to vicariate personnel.

Among the government pamphlets used were the following: Moran's, ⁴¹ Blanchets', ⁴² and Bethune's, ⁴³ of the Department of the Interior; censuses, bulletins, and surveys of the Indian Affairs Branch, and mimeographed releases and published reports of the Department of Mines and Resources, including The Northwest Territories, Administration, Resources, and Development, ⁴⁴ and the Northwest Territories Today. ⁴⁵

A review by the investigator and W. Ferguson in A Selected and Annotated Bibliography on the Sociology of Eskimo Education ⁴⁶ provided a comprehensive periodical reference. Articles from the Canadian Geographical Journal, ⁴⁷ especially reprints by Grantham and the Robinsons, ⁴⁸

were useful. Eskimo, North, The Beaver, and The Indian Record were the major periodicals surveyed, although several references were also viewed in Natural History, Polar Notes, and Pôle et Tropiques.

Method of Procedure

The narrative is divided into three major parts: 1867-1921; 1921-1945; and 1946-1961. Following an introduction to the geographic and political area, together with a brief account of the process of Euro-Canadian aboriginal contact, the first part examines the logistics of Catholic missionary activity, the establishment of mission schools, and the role of the territorial and federal government in sustaining these enterprises. A summary ends part one. Beginning with an examination of the social and administrative changes resulting from non-renewable resource developments in the 1920's and 1930's, the second part of the study outlines the advance of Catholic missions with particular reference to Eskimo proselytism and native schooling. The directive and supportive roles of both levels of government are then examined in terms of ethnic groups and Catholic schooling interests. This discussion is followed by an analysis of the Moore report and a summary of the second period. The final part identifies and notes the major themes of the study in a post-war setting, examining in detail the state's gradual ascendancy in educational affairs and the concomitant decline in Catholic influence. Following a summary of part three and a concluding statement, the study ends with recommendations for further research.

There are eleven appendices. Appendix A contains maps which show climatic and physiographic regions, treaty areas and political boundaries,

the distribution of Indian and Eskimo bands in 1941, mission stations and the ecclesiastical boundaries of the vicariate. Appendix B contains the curriculum for Indian schools as outlined by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1910. Appendix C gives the Indian Affairs Branch programme of studies in 1945. Appendix D lists the twenty recommendations of the unabridged Moore report. Appendix E is a résumé of senior government officials, elected and appointed representatives, having jurisdiction in the Mackenzie from 1945 to 1961. An extract from the Indian Act (1951) is given in Appendix F. Appendix G summarizes Indian Affairs Branch and territorial Council policies (circa 1950) concerning religious instruction and related matters in state and mission schools. The regulations governing the administration and management of the Fort Smith Federal School (1957) are outlined in Appendix H. The duties of principals and assistant principals referring to the administration of combined schools are summarized in Appendix I. The Yellowknife Separate School Board's memorandum to Council on financial grants together with Councillor Nicholson's reply are given in Appendices J and K. Footnotes follow each chapter.

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THE MACKENZIE FRONTIER 1867 - 1921

CHAPTER II

EARLY APPROACHES TO THE MACKENZIE FRONTIER

Once the impracticality of an Arctic passage became apparent, the vast region between the western mountains and the Hudson's Bay was left to the fur companies and missionary churches, who as economic and social agents, largely determined the destiny of the region's aboriginal population until the mid-twentieth century. With their respective interests, these agencies believed that the wilderness - where primitive ways would be tempered by the promise of the gospel and where the vagaries of the chase would be replaced by the benefits of trade - would be the best, if not the only, environment for their native charges. Unlike the Hudson's Bay Company, which was assured of a commercial monopoly by the late 1800's, neither the Anglican nor Roman Catholic churches could claim a like achievement prior to the 1920's, but this did not lessen their expectations. Rejecting Anglican overtures for confessional spheres of influence, Roman Catholic missionaries were the most ambitious; having reached a modus vivendi with the company, they determined to win the allegiance of the entire indigenous population. Notwithstanding the occasional dispute, the church-company alliance fostered the wilderness archetype, the Christian trapper, free to follow his traditional ways, subject of course to the limits set by his mentors, upon whom he increasingly relied.

Although the design of the aboriginal commonwealth was somewhat disturbed by such developments as the Yukon mining rush, the resultant coming of government officers and entrepreneurs to the

district did not upset the native-wilderness equation; in fact, the new agents reinforced the design by approving its terms and by ensuring that natives were excluded from other activities. What at first had been considered as a transitional phase was turning into a form of permanent subjugation. The wilderness was assuming utopian proportions in which the native, as backwoodsman, was to remain virtuous, and at the same time transform himself sufficiently for integration into white society.

This chapter will provide the background for chapter three, an examination of the church-state arrangements for education from 1867 to 1921. The following topics will be discussed: (1) the Mackenzie District; and (2) the Catholic church in the Mackenzie.

1. The Mackenzie District

From the time of its discovery by European explorers and traders in the late eighteenth century until the establishment of an appointed council in 1921 that became actively involved with the administration of the region,¹ the Mackenzie District was supervised by the Royal North West Mounted Police, the Department of Indian Affairs,² trading agencies (principally the Hudson's Bay Company), and the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. After its purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Canadian government in 1870,³ the Mackenzie District was nominally under the control and subject to the legislation of the federal and territorial governments. That the people of the district had no representation

in the councils of either government was somewhat tempered by the fact that almost none of the legislation passed by either assembly was operative in the Mackenzie up to 1921. Against the background of an isolated physical area, a group of primitive people experienced profound cultural change. Concomitantly there developed a body of law that could be arbitrarily applied to the area at the discretion of external authorities. The Mackenzie District, therefore, will be discussed in the light of these phenomena: (1) the Mackenzie District as a physical region; (2) settlement and cultural patterns in the Mackenzie; and (3) government and the Mackenzie prior to 1921.

The Mackenzie District as a Physical Region

Though the Mackenzie District is as large as the combined areas of Alberta and Saskatchewan,⁴ its topography and climate differ significantly from that of its southern neighbours. The Mackenzie is made up of three major physiographic regions: the Pre-cambrian Shield, the Cordillera, and the Interior Plains.⁵ The Shield, which constitutes one half of the district, is both barren and rugged. It is without navigable waterways; one third of its area is beyond the tree line. Prior to the advent of mining activity in the 1930's, the only people who managed to survive on the northern Shield were a few Eskimo who ranged inland from Coronation Gulf. The Indian bands who ventured into the area to hunt for caribou or musk-oxen always withdrew to the waterways and forests farther west. The Cordillera, a mountainous region that fans out from the Yukon border, contains considerable natural resources; but its rushing, often impassable, streams and its

jagged terrain made much of it practically inaccessible. Lying between the Cordillera and the Shield is the Interior Plain that borders the Slave-Mackenzie river system. Faced with an impenetrable barrier to the west and the inhospitable barrens to the east, the first people in the region travelled the navigable waters of the Mackenzie. The fish, game, and other resources of the Mackenzie plains sustained most of the aboriginal inhabitants of the district. Notwithstanding its advantages, especially when compared to the other regions of the district, the Mackenzie waterway, frozen from six to nine months of the year, presents a rigorous environment. The possibility of famine is always present as game resources in any locality are easily depleted. The entire region has little arable land; the growing season is short - fifty to sixty days. These conditions should be kept in mind, especially when one notes that the legislation passed by the territorial Assembly for "an area of rich prairie easily penetrated by railways,"⁶ applied equally to the Mackenzie District up to 1921.

Settlement and Cultural Patterns in the Mackenzie

Hearne, Mackenzie, and Franklin⁷ were among the first to describe the native people of the Mackenzie. They found two principal groups: the Eskimo, who ranged the Arctic littoral from the Mackenzie Delta to Bathurst Inlet, and various Athabaskan or D  n   tribes: the Chipewyan, Yellowknife, Dogrib, Slave, Nahanni, Hare, and Loucheux (Kutchin), who roamed their respective hunting territories along the Mackenzie basin.⁸ Small nomadic bands located themselves at fishing places at certain times of the year, but

weather conditions, inter-tribal warfare, and the vagaries of the hunt often frustrated these rendez-vous. Late in the eighteenth century the North West Company began to establish posts at several Déné fishing camps - Resolution, Providence, Marten Lake, Good Hope - to tap the rich fur fields of the Mackenzie plains.⁹ By 1860 the Hudson's Bay Company had set up posts at Peel's River and Anderson River to draw the Eskimos of the delta into the fur trade.¹⁰ By the time of the area's transfer to Canada in 1870, most of the native people of the Mackenzie, with the exception of the Eskimo east of the delta, were making regular visits to the forts to exchange fur for guns, flour, tobacco, and trinkets.

The traders and missionaries¹¹ gradually brought an end to warfare among the various bands, particularly between the Eskimo and their traditional enemies, the Loucheux and Yellowknife. The white man's presence, however, had many detrimental effects. The advance of fur posts and missionary stations into the Mackenzie meant the introduction of diseases and epidemics that hitherto had been unknown among the natives. In 1866, for example, Chief Factor W. Hardisty of Fort Simpson reported to Governor W. McTavish that over one thousand Indians had died from influenza in the area from Fort Simpson to Peel's River the previous year.¹² Certain highly visible features of aboriginal cultures, such as infanticide, plural marriage, and magical-religious practises, were condemned by both trader and missionary. Failure to give up such practises usually meant that the native was denied the spiritual and economic assistance of the posts. Such support became increasingly important. The hunters

devoted increasing amounts of time to trapping, thus limiting opportunities to pursue the old food gathering ways and forcing them to rely on the credit system of the trading posts.

An obvious effect of European contact upon the indigenous people of the Mackenzie was the substantial decline in the native population. Diamond Jenness estimated that the Indian population of the Northwest Territories dropped from 11,500 early in the nineteenth century to approximately 4,500 by 1932,¹³ and that the Eskimo population of the Mackenzie delta declined from Franklin's estimate of 2,000 to about 200 by 1930.¹⁴ In 1857 the Hudson's Bay Company reported that approximately 6,000 natives frequented its eight stations in the Mackenzie. This number excluded the Eskimo and those Déné who were outside the trade network or who bartered at other than Mackenzie Department forts.¹⁵ In 1881 the Census estimated the population of the Mackenzie and the Arctic Coast to be over 11,000.¹⁶ No breakdown for the Mackenzie was given in the Census of 1891.¹⁷ In 1901 the area's population was listed as 5,216¹⁸ and in 1911 as 5,900.¹⁹ In 1920 F. H. Kitto estimated the population of the Mackenzie to be 5,200.²⁰ Considering these figures, the overall effect of the European presence upon the native people is clear.

By 1911 there were twelve permanent settlements in the Mackenzie ranging in population from fifty to eight hundred inhabitants.²¹ The attraction of these posts prompted increasing numbers of natives to remain about them for longer periods of time. Soon dilapidated shacks began to rise around the periphery of the neat

mission and trading compounds. The white man had food, clothing, and medicine and usually could be prevailed upon to share them. The trader or missionary, on the other hand, desired the native's presence only several times a year. The Indian or Eskimo was encouraged to come to the fort to trade and to spend some time in religious and social festivities; he then was expected to return to

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the trap lines. The native settlement dweller relied on occasional jobs as an interpreter, guide, or labourer, supplementing this income with brief hunting or fishing trips away from the post. Once he had experienced the relative comfort of settlement living, he was reluctant to return to the isolated and harsh existence of the wilderness. However the settlements offered no ecological base for such permanent residence, and it was not long before the presence of these impoverished people at such places as Forts Simpson and Smith presented serious social and economic problems beyond the resources of the various post agencies.

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Throughout the early period of white-native contact various commentators on the indigenous people of the Mackenzie enunciated a point of view that held general currency among the traders, explorers, police, and missionaries of the district. Although W. Bethune's comments were made in the late 1930's, they are representative of this attitude: "Of all the Indians in Canada they [the Athabaskans] were probably the least ambitious or progressive.... One cannot help suspecting that they had lost the enterprise and energy that had impelled them to migrate into America."²⁴ The Eskimo of the western Arctic fared somewhat better from such scrutiny; however, Bethune's view of them was rather

academic as most of the original Eskimo had either perished or were outside the pale of white contact: "The Eskimo is cheerful, easy to deal with, intelligent, quick to learn, and an admirable patient when sick."²⁵ Needless to say this view of the native people had a profound effect on the acculturation process, particularly on any formal educational undertaking; as long as it was held its racialistic overtones prevented understanding and cooperation between the dominant and primitive groups. Jenness saw it as a deep-rooted prejudice, noting its particular strength in frontier communities like the Mackenzie" ...where the Indian population outnumbered the white and the latter group was struggling to uphold its prestige."²⁶

Government and the Mackenzie Prior to 1921

Government was first provided the vast fur-trading empire of the Hudson's Bay Company (Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory), by the Temporary Government Act of 1869.²⁷ In 1875 the Canadian parliament passed the Northwest Territories Act;²⁸ this legislation together with the amendments of 1888,²⁹ 1891,³⁰ and 1897³¹ led to the establishment of representative and responsible government for the southern districts of the Northwest Territory. Gradually as settlement advanced and as circumstances warranted, the Northwest Territories was divided into a number of districts for administrative purposes. The District of Keewatin was created in 1876 and withdrawn from the government of the Northwest Territories.³² The boundary of Manitoba was considerably enlarged in 1881.³³ A year later the Districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabaska were created;³⁴ those of Ungava, Franklin, Mackenzie, and

Yukon were set up in 1895.³⁵ In 1898 the Yukon was made a separate territory.³⁶ In 1905, after a vigorous struggle for autonomy, the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed from the Districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabaska.³⁷ In the same year, the federal government assumed full responsibility for the residual territories of Mackenzie, Keewatin, and Franklin, under the authority of the Northwest Territories Amendment Act of 1905.³⁸

After 1905, the federal government acceded to the demands of several provinces who desired to expand their boundaries northward. In 1912 Quebec and Ontario annexed Ungava, and Manitoba extended its control north to the sixtieth parallel of latitude.³⁹ The boundaries of the remaining districts, Mackenzie, Keewatin, and Franklin, were defined by an Order in Council of March 16, 1918, that became effective on January 1, 1920.⁴⁰ These boundaries remain in effect to the present day (1970).

During the initial period of territorial government (1869-1905) the Mackenzie District had no representatives in either the territorial or federal assemblies. Its interests were nominally in the hands of the lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Territories. The ordinances passed by the territorial government applied to the Mackenzie but their relevance was a matter of coincidence rather than design. As most of the inhabitants of the Mackenzie were either Indian or Eskimo and therefore a federal responsibility,⁴¹ the administration at Regina did not concern itself with the Mackenzie or the other non-organized northern territories, except for small annual expenditures issued on the authority of the lieutenant-

governor.

Like the territorial administration the federal government demonstrated a lack of interest in the Mackenzie; it delegated the implementation of its policies to the trading and missionary authorities. Two events near the end of the century, however, prompted the federal authorities to give more than cursory attention to the area. The first was the arrival of American whalers off the coast of the western Arctic. From 1889 on, an increasing number of ships plied the waters of the Beaufort Sea hunting the Beluga whale. Many of these vessels wintered along the coast and soon Ottawa was in receipt of reports from the traders and missionaries in the Mackenzie delta that the American presence was causing customs violations, general lawlessness, and widespread drunkenness and immorality among the natives.⁴² No action was taken until 1903, when two detachments of the Royal North West Mounted Police were established at Fort McPherson and Herschel Island with orders to inspect cargoes, collect customs, and confiscate liquor. By establishing these posts, the Canadian government served notice "that she was accepting the responsibilities of sovereignty over the Arctic mainland...."⁴³ Another step taken by the Canadian government to establish a degree of control over the Mackenzie was occasioned by the movement of settlers into the Athabaska region, by prospecting parties that were exploring north to Great Slave Lake, and by the inroads of gold-seekers on their way to the Yukon. As there were definite signs that the Indians of the region were resisting these encroachments, the government, assisted by the

trading organizations and by the Roman Catholic church, moved quickly to conclude a treaty with the native inhabitants.⁴⁴ By the end of 1899, Treaty Number 8 had been adhered to by most of the Indians of northern Alberta and the south east shore area of Great Slave Lake.⁴⁵ Having carried out these actions the federal government left the Mackenzie to its traditional agents, the fur traders and missionaries.

With the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, the federal government passed the Northwest Territories Amendment Act to provide for the administration and government of the residual territories. The Act provided for the appointment by the Governor-General in Council of a Commissioner and a Council of not more than four members. The Commissioner-in-Council was to administer the government of the Northwest Territories under the instructions of the Governor-General in Council and the Minister of the Interior.⁴⁶ Lieutenant Colonel F. White (financial comptroller of the RNWMP), appointed commissioner in 1905, remained in office until his death in 1918, when he was succeeded by W. W. Cory (deputy minister of the Interior).⁴⁷ Throughout his period of tenure, Commissioner White governed the Northwest Territories from Ottawa without the aid of a Council on annual budgets that never exceeded six thousand dollars.⁴⁸ He was kept informed on conditions in the Mackenzie by the annual reports of the district's three police detachments.⁴⁹ These reports were invariably perfunctory, affirming year after year the lack of crime and stating the general condition of the natives.⁵⁰ During the period of government by commissioner, no ordinances were passed; none of the old ordinances of the Northwest Territories were repealed;⁵¹ and no

new policies were enunciated:

His [White's] instructions called on him to uphold Canada's sovereignty in the northland, to maintain order, and to enforce the laws of Canada- a negative task which made his administration as static and unprogressive as police-run states generally are.⁵²

While the Canadian government established police posts and promoted Arctic expeditions⁵³ to the Mackenzie during the first two decades of the twentieth century in an effort to assert its sovereignty over the area, it was reluctant to assume responsibility for the inhabitants of the country. Although the Department of Indian Affairs did make small grants to mission schools⁵⁴ and hospitals as well as annuity payments to a few Indians who were covered by treaty, it showed little inclination to do much more. According to Gabriel Breynat (Roman Catholic Bishop of the Mackenzie), the Department of Indian Affairs was careful to point out to him in 1908 that the Mackenzie, being a missionary field, was the church's responsibility.⁵⁵ The following year Breynat pleaded with Frank Oliver (minister of the Interior) "to stretch the Treaty till [sic] the Arctic Ocean with the same conditions already concluded with the tribes of [Treaty 8]" Although the Indians were "naturally submissive," they needed to be warned, especially those who "do not fear to reclaim the country as pertaining to them and refuse the government the right to carry laws against them" More important they needed help: "...let it not be said that they [the government] is waiting until the country is a new Klondyke or until the Indians have [been] extinguished little by little with misery...."⁵⁶ Breynat's hope that a treaty party would set out in the spring of 1910 did not materialize. On February 28 of the same

year, Oliver wrote him to report on what his department could do for the Indians of the Mackenzie.⁵⁷ Attached to Oliver's letter was a memorandum prepared by Frank Pedley (deputy superintendent general of the Department of Indian Affairs). Pedley pointed out that it was financially impossible for the government to sign a treaty with the 3,500 Indians of the Mackenzie; he went on to state what he believed was the extent of the government's obligations:

Although I would not postulate that the territory of the Mackenzie River Indians should never be ceded to the Crown, it seems to me at present there is no necessity for taking action. The influx of miners and prospectors into that country is very small, and at present there are no settlers. The Department relieves cases of pressing necessity through the Hudson's Bay Company, and I think we should be prepared to meet the request made by the Bishop [Breynat] for twine for nets and snares, and that we should request Dr. Rymer to go down the River on the Hudson's Bay Co'y steamer when she makes her annual trip. By taking these steps and by keeping in touch with the needs of the Indians, I think we will be discharging all present obligations.⁵⁸

A year later, however, Pedley gave notice that Indian agencies were to be located at Forts Smith and Simpson to deal with "relief" and to carry on "experiments in farming."⁵⁹ In the summer of 1911, agencies were established at both posts. During the next ten years,⁶⁰ small gardens and sawmills were developed by both stations, ostensibly to introduce the Indian to good farming practices and to provide lumber for the increasing number who were settling in the posts. The model gardens, rather than stimulating the Indian to farm, did little more than supplement the diets of the agency staffs. The sawmills' output was largely allocated to government or mission buildings. In fact, the condition of Indian dwellings worsened as more and more tribesmen abandoned their tents to live in "overcrowded, dirty, ill ventilated, unsanitary" shacks.⁶¹

It was the missionaries and fur traders who largely maintained Canadian sovereignty in the Mackenzie District to 1920. Both territorial and federal governments had no policy for the region and were content to underwrite, and to a limited extent, finance the activities and objectives of their traditional agents. The state's passive role tended to convince both fur trader and missionary that the limited social horizons they had in mind for the native people were appropriate and sufficient. If the situation was to change so that the native people could take part in the social, economic, and political development of the Mackenzie, it would require a complete reversal of attitude on the part of the government and its agents in the district.

2. The Catholic Church in the Mackenzie (1852-1920)

The record of Roman Catholic missionary activity in the Mackenzie District begins with Father H. Faraud's trip from Fort Chipewyan to Fort Resolution in 1852.⁶² After spending several weeks among the Indians at the Great Slave Lake post, Faraud, a member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.), returned to Fort Chipewyan to report on the success of his mission to Bishop A. Taché (St. Boniface).⁶³ The Oblates together with two other religious societies, the Sisters of Charity of Montreal (the Grey Nuns), and the Sisters of St. Joseph of London, Ontario, were to carry out all Catholic missionary work in the district from the time of Faraud's visit.⁶⁴

The period from 1852 to 1920 will be reviewed in two parts, based on the area of episcopal authority (vide Table I) and the type of

TABLE I

ROMAN CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION - MACKENZIE DISTRICT - 1852-1960*

Bishop	Coadjutor	Date of Consecration	Date of Resignation or Death	Period of Jurisdiction in Mackenzie	Country of Birth
J. Provencher		1821	1853	1852-1853	Canada
A. Taché	(A. Taché)	1851	1894	1853-1861	Canada
V. Grandin	(V. Grandin)	1859	1902	1861-1864	France
H. Faraud		1863	1890	1864-1890	France
E. Grouard	(I. Clut)	1891	1931	1891-1902	France
G. Breynat		1902	1943	1902-1943	France
	(P. Fallaize) (J. Trocellier)				
J. Trocellier		1940	1958	1943-1958	France
P. Piché		1959	-	1959-	Canada

* Source of data: A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada 2 vols. (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1910), I, 116, 231, 244, II, 266; E. Grouard, Souvenirs de Mes Soixante Ans d'Apostolat dans L'Athabaska-Mackenzie (Lyon: Oeuvre Apostolique de M.I., 1922), 123, 149, Appendice II; Trocellier Papers, AVM, passim; D. Roche ed., Ecclesiastical Directory (Edmonton: Western Catholic Reporter, 1966), 83.

missionary activity. The first part, 1852 to 1902, encompasses a time of intensive missions among the Indians directed by Bishops A. Taché, V. Grandin, H. Faraud, and E. Grouard. The second part from 1902 to 1920 marked the beginning of the Eskimo mission of Bishop G. Breynat.

The Indian Missions

In 1856 Faraud, despite an initial rebuff on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company employees, succeeded in establishing a permanent mission at Fort Resolution (St. Joseph). Evidently Chief Factor Anderson (Mackenzie District) had forbidden his posts to extend the company's usual hospitality to Catholic missionaries. Taché, however, was aware of Anderson's opposition and was careful to secure sanctioning letters for all northern missions from Governor G. Simpson.⁶⁵ Once Faraud produced the Governor's note, he was better received.⁶⁶ The company's policy was to assist all Christian denominations in so far as it was practical. Although the Catholic missionaries were often aided by Métis and French employees who usually held subordinate positions,⁶⁷ they continued to encounter opposition from factors and traders in certain posts. For example, Father Grollier's mission among the Loucheux of Fort McPherson in 1860 was severely handicapped because of the influence of Andrew Flett's (post trader) Loucheux wife who told the Indians to ignore Grollier and to wait for one who would tell them of the true religion.⁶⁸ As most of the senior employees of the company in the Mackenzie were either Presbyterian or Anglican, it was not long before the Indians had decided, according to Bishop Grouard, that:

"...la religion catholique c'est la religion des Français, la religion protestante, celle des Anglais."⁶⁹ This identification was manifested in other ways: for example, the company's power was demonstrated in its Mackenzie steamer, the Wrigley, whereas the Catholic priests travelled by canoe. When the mission's boat, the Saint-Alphonse, was launched in 1895, it not only provided the church with much needed transportation between Fort Smith and Peel's River, but also, according to Bishop Grouard, enhanced the Oblate image among the natives.

Les Indiens étaient aussi enchantés de voir que les Anglais ne pouvaient plus se vanter d'être les seuls en possession de canots à feu et que les Français pouvaient leur tenir tête.⁷⁰

Notwithstanding these situations, it was the general indifference of many of the company's employees to the Catholic presence, and the greater familiarity they had with the Protestant ministers (if for no other reason than that of language and national origin) that caused Oblate missionaries to view the company's servants as rivals.⁷¹

In 1858 as Father H. Grollier and P. Eynard were preparing to leave Fort Chipewyan for the mission at Fort Resolution, they were astounded to learn that an Anglican missionary, Archdeacon J. Hunter, had already gone into the Mackenzie with one of the fur brigades.⁷² Before receiving news of Hunter's journey, Taché was confident: "Tout semblait préparé pour assurer sans contestation le triomphe de la cause sainte dans le vaste district de la rivière Mackenzie...." As this was no longer the case, Eynard and Grollier, followed shortly by a third Oblate, Gascon, hurried to give missions at several Mackenzie posts: Grosse Ile (1858), Fort Simpson (1858), Fort Rae (1859), Fort Norman (1859), Fort McPherson (1860), Fort Liard (1860), and Fort Good Hope

(1860). At a meeting of Oblate missionaries at Ile-à-la-Crosse in 1860, Taché decided to send his newly consecrated coadjutor, Grandin, to the Mackenzie, to further ensure "le triomphe du catholicisme."⁷³

During Grandin's three-year stay in the Mackenzie (1861-1864), he helped secure Catholic supremacy at Forts Rae, Liard, Resolution, and Good Hope.⁷⁴ The Anglican presence, however, was causing difficulty at Forts Simpson, Norman, and McPherson.⁷⁵ As Fort McPherson was the key to the Eskimo bands of the Mackenzie delta, the failure of the Oblates Grollier, Séguin, and Petitot to make any headway among the Peel River Loucheux forced them to retreat to Fort Good Hope. Here they were removed from effective contact with either the Loucheux or the Eskimo.

Up river the Oblates were more successful, especially at Forts Simpson and Norman. Although permanent missions were not established at either post, frequent visitations to them by Catholic missionaries effectively countered Anglican ambitions. Between trips to the various posts, Grandin worked to establish the new mission of Notre-Dame de La Providence (Fort Providence) that was to be the seat of the new vicariate of Athabaska-Mackenzie.⁷⁶ Grandin then relinquished the Mackenzie missions to the vicariate's first incumbent, Faraud, to begin an extremely active career as Bishop of St. Albert.⁷⁷

From the time of Grandin's departure, Faraud and his successor, Grouard, worked vigorously to assure the success of the Catholic missions among the Indians of the Mackenzie. By 1902 the church exercised almost complete spiritual sovereignty over the Métis and Indians who frequented the following posts: Fort Smith (St. Isidore),

Fort Resolution (St. Joseph), Fort Providence (Our Lady of Good Hope), and Fort Rae (St. Michael).⁷⁸ During their period of jurisdiction in the Mackenzie, 1864-1902, permanent missions had also been founded at nearly all the main centres of Anglican influence: Fort Norman (St. Theresa, 1876), Fort Simpson (Sacred Heart of Jesus, 1894), Fort Wrigley (Sacred Heart of Mary, 1897), and Hay River (St. Ann, 1900). As a result of the patient and persistent efforts of resident priests, many of the natives who had followed pagan or Anglican practises became, at least in a nominal sense, Roman Catholic.⁷⁹ However, no such reversal was imminent in the Anglican stronghold of the Mackenzie delta. In 1896 Fathers Lefebvre and Giroux, having given up hope of converting the Indians or Eskimos of the delta, withdrew from Fort McPherson with a few Catholic Loucheux to found a new settlement at Arctic Red River (Holy Name of Mary). Upon hearing of this retreat, Grouard conceded that any hope of winning the natives of the western Arctic had vanished.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, census figures testify as to the general ascendancy of the Catholic missions among the Indians. Of a total population of 5,216 in the Mackenzie in 1901, 1,396 were Roman Catholic, 184 were Anglican, and 3,631 had no specific faith.⁸¹ Of a total population of 5,900 in 1911, the Catholic population had risen to 3,305, the Anglican to 485, while the number in the pagan and unspecified categories had dropped to 1,714.⁸²

The Eskimo Missions

When Gabriel Breynat was consecrated Bishop of the Mackenzie in 1902, there were but two mission areas remaining, the Anglican and pagan territories of the Mackenzie delta and the Arctic coast. He

first turned his attention to the Amundsen and Coronation Gulf areas, hoping to realize the desire expressed earlier by Taché:

Il y a bientôt trois mille ans que le Prophète royal a chanté: Benedicite, gelu et frigus, Domino; benedicite, glacies et nives, Domino. Aussi le moment approche [1857] où le nom saint du Seigneur va retenter jusque dans la cabane de glace des pauvres Esquimoux.⁸³

It was not until 1911, however, that Breynat selected two priests, J. Rouvière and W. Le Roux, for his first Eskimo mission. In the spring of that year Rouvière left Fort Norman for Dease Arm on the east shore of Great Bear Lake. On September 17 he said his first mass among the Eskimo at Lake Imerenik. He found the Eskimo of the region, who had travelled south from the coast, to be co-operative and friendly. With the approach of winter the Eskimo returned to the sea leaving Rouvière alone at Dismal Lake where he spent the winter studying the Eskimo grammar with the aid of Petitot's dictionary.⁸⁴ In the fall of 1913 Rouvière and Le Roux set out for Coronation Gulf by way of the Coppermine River. The journey between Dease Arm and the mouth of the Coppermine was particularly difficult and by the time they had reached the sea, they found themselves to be without food and among predatory Eskimo. They had no alternative but to retrace their steps to the cabin at Dease Arm. Sometime in late October, they were murdered by two Eskimos who were helping them return to Great Bear Lake.⁸⁵

Unaware of the fate of his missionaries in the Coppermine, Breynat dispatched another priest by way of the Mackenzie River to establish a post at Letty Harbour in 1916.⁸⁶ However, when he learned of the death of Le Roux and Rouvière, Breynat abandoned the station and the virgin missionary field east of the delta was once again left to the

Anglicans.⁸⁷

In 1918 the missionary at Fort Norman managed to persuade a visiting Eskimo family to go to Fort Resolution where they would be able to help the priests learn Eskimo. After spending a year at the southern post, the parents, Naddith and Kuniak, returned to Bear Lake, leaving their son Katouktok at the mission school.⁸⁸ Father J. Frapsauce accompanied them as far as Dease Arm where he set about building a permanent mission. The next year Father P. Fallaize along with Katouktok set out to join Frapsauce only to learn upon their arrival at Bear Lake that he had drowned. Fallaize continued to work on the mission (Our Lady Queen of the Rosary). On December 25, 1920, he joyfully reported to Breynat that he had "gathered in the first-fruits of a spiritual harvest on the fields of ice"; on that day he baptized three Eskimo adults and two children.⁸⁹ The Eskimo mission had finally met with success: "The gain of just one of them is quite a conquest."⁹⁰

1. Authority for the appointment of four councillors was given in the Northwest Territories Amendment Act. Statutes of Canada, 4-5 Edw. VII, c.27, s.5 (1905). No councillors were appointed until 1921 when council's representation was raised to six. Ibid., 11-12 Geo. V., c.40 (1921).
2. The first Royal North West Mounted Police post in the Mackenzie was established at Fort McPherson in 1903. Annual Report of the Royal North West Mounted Police, 1903, 50. Cited hereinafter as ARNWMP. By 1920 there were two other police detachments at Forts Simpson and Resolution. Annual Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1920, 21. Cited hereinafter as ARCM. Indian Agencies were established at Forts Smith and Simpson in 1911. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1911, xx. Cited hereinafter as ARDIA.
3. Statutes of Canada, 34 & 35-36 Vict., lxv (1872).
4. The total area of the Mackenzie District is 527,490 square miles while that of Alberta and Saskatchewan combined is 506,985 square miles. Cosmopolitan World Atlas (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1956), 136, 139. W. C. Bethune, Canada's Western Northland (Ottawa: Department of Mines and Resources, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, 1937), 15.
5. The discussion on physiographic regions is based on the following: Bethune, 15-31, 48-69; The Canadian Arctic (Ottawa: Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Geographical Branch 1951), 1-64; The Northwest Territories Today, A Reference Paper for the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1965), 1-12. Cited hereinafter as The Northwest Territories Today. For the physiographic regions and political boundaries of the Mackenzie vide Figure 1, Appendix A.
6. The Northwest Territories Today, 1.
7. S. Hearne, A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean 1769-1772 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1911); A. MacKenzie, Voyages from Montreal Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean in 1789 and 1793, 2 vols. (Toronto: Courrier Press, 1911), II; J. Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819-20-21-22, 2 vols. (London: John Murray Publishers, 1824).
8. E. Jenness, The Indian Tribes of Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1933), 87-101, 102-117. For the approximate distribution

of Dené and Eskimo bands in the Mackenzie, vide Figure 2, Appendix A.

9. Fort Resolution was established in 1784 by Cuthbert Grant and Laurent Leroux. L. R. Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, 2 vols. (Quebec: A Côté, 1889), I, iv. Other posts soon followed: Fort Providence (1789), Marten Lake (1790), and Fort Good Hope (1805). H. R. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada (Rev. ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 200-202.
10. Fort McPherson was erected in 1840. Fort Anderson was abandoned after four years of trade (1860-1865). E. G. Stewart, "Fort McPherson and the Peel River Area" (unpublished Master's thesis, Queen's University, 1955), 51, 221.
11. Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries began to penetrate the Mackenzie District in the 1850's. For a discussion of Catholic missionary activity, vide infra, 36 .
12. W. L. Hardisty (chief factor, Fort Simpson) to W. McTavish (governor, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Garry), November 27, 1866, quoted in Stewart, 213. Police reports on the Mackenzie show that epidemics were still taking a toll in the early twentieth century. "Last spring [1903] at McPherson out of a band of 80, whose settlement was at Herschell Island, some 70 died of measles, thus practically clearing out the entire band." C. Constantine (superintendent "G" Division, RNWMP, Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta) September 6, 1903, ARNWMP 1903, 49-50.
13. D. Jenness, Indians of Canada (Ottawa: Canadian National Museum, Bulletin 65, 1932), 389, 392, 393, 396, 399, 404. This estimate would include a few bands outside the Mackenzie District.
14. D. Jenness, Eskimo Administration: Technical Paper No. 14 (Washington: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), II, 14.
15. "Establishments of the Hudson's Bay in 1856, and the Number of Indians Frequenting Them," Census of Canada, 1665-1871, IV, lxxiv.
16. Census of Canada 1880-1881, I, 202-203. It should be noted that these early estimates of the Indian and Eskimo population in the Mackenzie are at best approximate. "It has been almost impossible to make an enumeration, properly so called, of the Indian population over a great extent of the unorganized territory of Confederation." Ibid , xiv.
17. Census of Canada 1890-1891 I, 329. The population of the organized territories of the Northwest, that is, other than

the territories of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is listed as 28,782.

18. Census of Canada 1901, I, 21.
19. Census of Canada 1911, I, 171.
20. F. H. Kitto (director, Northwest Territories Branch, Department of the Interior), "Report on the Mackenzie District," December 22, 1920, Record Group 15, A-2, VII, Public Archives of Canada, 1. Cited hereinafter as PAC.
21. Census of Canada 1911, I, 171.
22. Apart from economic considerations, the Roman Catholic church feared that the native would be corrupted by settlement life. S. Lesage, o.m.i., Sacred Heart Mission, 1858-1958 (Fort Simpson: Sacred Heart Mission, 1958), 15. Balicki's description of the effect of the fur trade on the Vunta Kutchin (Old Crow, Yukon Territory) can also be applied to many Mackenzie bands: "One trend was the gradual reduction in size of the main collaborative units. The ancient band organization, characterized by large summer groupings and smaller winter units, gave way to a chain of small trapping camps...the whole population remained at Old Crow in the summer for a short period. This was a period of relaxation and festivities. In late summer, the families, carrying their outfits in credit, were already leaving for the winter camps." A. Balicki, Vunta Kutchin Social Change (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1963), NCRC-63-3, 152-153.
23. Indications of increasing native settlement in Simpson in the 1890's is noted by C. Camsell (son of the Fort's chief factor) in Son of the North (Toronto: Ryerson, 1966), II, 37-41. Native settlement had become more widespread by the second decade of the twentieth century, vide "Reports of the Fort Simpson and Fort Smith Agencies," ARDIA, 1912-1921, passim. The problem of native residence became particularly acute in many Mackenzie communities by the 1930's. For a discussion of the Northwest Territories Administration's view of native residence, vide infra, 129-138.
24. Bethune's assessment is particularly significant in that it was made in a publication sponsored by the Department of Mines and Resources. Bethune, 51. For earlier examples of this point of view, vide Hearne, passim; S. Gould, Inasmuch, (Toronto: Church Missionary Society, 1917); P. Duchaussois, o.m.i., The Grey Nuns in the Far North (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 70-71; E. Jenness, 100-101. The Loucheux often escaped the negative assessment applied to the Déné. "The Loucheux are more lively and intelligent, as well as more cordial and

affectionate, than the Tenni [Déné] ." (H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North London: Seeley and Co., 1908), 93.

Cody's opinion is in line with the man he eulogizes, Bishop Bompas. W. C. Bompas, Diocese of the Mackenzie River (London: S.P.C.K., 1888), 39.

25. Bethune, 69. In the same year that Bethune's compilation was published (1937), Dr. L. Livingstone (government medical officer at Aklavik) submitted a report to the Northwest Territories Administration on the Eskimo of the Mackenzie that differed substantially from Bethune's optimistic assessment. Livingstone found the Eskimo of the Mackenzie Delta to be syphilitic, generally diseased, and impoverished (Livingstone to R. A. Gibson [deputy commissioner of the Northwest Territories], May 5, 1937, Minutes of the Northwest Territories Council, VI, 1419). Cited hereinafter as Minutes. His report was so pessimistic that the Northwest Territories Administration decided not to forward it to the famous Arctic explorer, V. Stefansson. Ibid., 1426.
26. Diamond Jenness, "Canada's Indians Yesterday. What of Today?," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XX (February, 1944), 95.
27. Statutes of Canada, 32-33 Vict., c.3 (1869).
28. Ibid., 38 Vict., c.49 (1875).
29. Ibid., 51 Vict., c.19 (1888).
30. Ibid., 54-55 Vict., c.22 (1891).
31. Ibid., 60-61 Vict., c.28 (1896-7).
32. Ibid., 39 Vict., c.21 (1876).
33. The residual area of Keewatin was transferred to the Northwest Territories on September 1, 1905. Order in Council, Statutes of Canada, 6 Edw. VII, lv, (1906); ibid., 44 Vict., c.14 (1881).
34. Departmental Order No. 27, Dec. 13, 1882, Statutes of Canada, 45-46 Vict., cxv. (1883)
35. Order in Council, October 2, 1895, Statutes of Canada, 58-59 Vict., xlvii-xlvix. (1896).
36. Ibid., 61 Vict. (1898).
37. Ibid., 4-5 Edw. VII, c.3, s.42 (1905).
38. Ibid., 4-5 Edw. VII, c.27 (1905).

39. Statutes of Canada, 2 Geo. V., c.30, 40 (1912).
40. Order in Council, March 16, 1918, Canada Gazette (January-March, 1918), LI, 3333. For a description of the political boundaries of the Mackenzie, vide Figure I, Appendix A.
41. Great Britain Statutes, 30-31 Vict., c.3, s.91 (1867). The Supreme Court of Canada decided on April 5, 1939, that the term 'Indians' in heading 24 of Section 91 applied also to Eskimos. Minutes, VII, 1767.
42. C. E. Whittaker, Arctic Eskimo (London: Seeley, Service and Co. 1937?), 233-238; Stewart, 261-264; A. Stevenson, "Whaler's Wait," North, XV (September-October, 1968), 24-31.
43. D. Jenness, Eskimo Administration, 19-20.
44. C. Mair, Through the Mackenzie Basin (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), 24.
45. Treaty No. 8 June 21, 1899 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1900?). For the area of the Mackenzie in which Treaty No. 8 applied, vide Figure 2, Appendix A.
46. Statutes of Canada, 4-5 Edw., c.27 (1905).
47. Bethune, 10.
48. Source of data: Report of the Auditor General of Canada, 1906. Cited hereinafter as RAGC.
49. Vide supra, 33.
50. ARNWP, 1906-1919; ARMP, 1920, passim.
51. The ordinances in force in the Mackenzie throughout this period (1905-1920) were those in effect in the Northwest Territories at the time of the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Official Consolidation of the Ordinances of the Northwest in Force on August 31, 1905. (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1907). Cited hereinafter as Ordinances:
52. D. Jenness, Eskimo Administration, 21.
53. During the period from 1902 to 1918, the Canadian government assisted four scientific and exploratory expeditions to the Canadian western Arctic. The Canadian Arctic, 61.
54. For a discussion of government aid to schools, vide infra, 76-100.
55. G. Breynat, The Flying Bishop, trans. A. G. Smith (London: Burns and Oates, 1955), 132.

56. Breynat to Oliver, December 27, 1909, I.A.B.S., R.G. 10, 4042, PAC. In the same mail Breynat wrote H.A. Conroy (inspector, Treaty No. 8) outlining some of the arrangements necessary for the proposed treaty expedition and including a copy of his letter to Oliver in which Conroy was recommended to head the treaty party. Ibid.
57. Oliver to Breynat, February 28, 1910, Breynat Papers, (Archives of the Mackenzie Vicariate, Fort Smith, N.W.T.). Cited hereinafter as AVM.
58. Pedley to Oliver, February 23, 1910, Breynat Papers, AVM.
59. Pedley, ARDIA, 1911, xx.
60. ARDIA, 1912-1921, passim.
61. D. C. Scott (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs), ARDIA, 1917, 30.
62. The Indians of the Great Slave Lake area had asked Faraud on several occasions to come and visit them. The success of his mission at Fort Resolution was in part due to the goodwill of the Roman Catholic Métis of the post. H. Faraud, Dix-Huit Ans Chez Les Sauvages (Paris: Régis Ruffet et Cie, 1866), 132-135.
63. Taché was named coadjutor to J. Provencher, first bishop of the Northwest (1822-1853) in 1851. When Taché returned from his consecration in France he was delighted to learn of Faraud's mission:

Le plus beau succès couronna cette entreprise.
 Les différentes tribes qui visitent ce poste et qui
 souperaient depuis longtemps après l'arrivée de l'Homme
 de la Prière, rivalisèrent de zèle et de bon vouloir.
 A. Taché, Vingt Années de Missions (Montreal: Eusèbe
 Senécal, 1866), 50-51 .
64. The Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate was founded in France in 1816 by Eugene de Mazenod and received canonical approbation from Pope Leo XII in 1826. At the request of Bishop Bourget of Montreal six Oblates were sent to Quebec in 1841. In 1845 two Oblates, Taché and Aubert, left Longueuil for St. Boniface. A year later Faraud joined his confrères on the Red River. Since Faraud's visit to the present day (1970), the Oblate congregation has been charged with the spiritual care of Roman Catholics in the Mackenzie. It should be noted that most of the Oblates who came to the Mackenzie were French-speaking and that many of the priests were born and educated in France. P. Duchaussois, Mid Snow and Ice, trans. R. Dawson (London: Burns and Oates, 1923), 319-320; F. E. Banim, "The Centenary of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate."

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, (1941-1942), 29-31. For a discussion of the Grey Nuns and the Sisters of St. Joseph, vide infra, 103 and 594.

65. One of Simpson's letters is quoted in Lesage, 6. On this occasion it answered a petition from B. Ross who opposed carrying Catholic missionaries on Company barges or affording them hospitality at the posts:
B. P. Ross, Esq., and all
officers in charge of posts,
Mackenzie River District.
Gentlemen,
This will be handed to you by the R. P. H. Grollier, who under the instructions of the Bishop of St. Boniface and with the sanction of the H.B.C., proceeds to Fort Good Hope to commence an Indian Mission. Père Grollier has been assured of a Passage in the Company's craft down the Mackenzie River, and the Hospitality of the Company's establishment at Fort Good Hope, during the ensuing winter.
Commending this Missionary to your personal civilities. (signed) George Simpson
66. Taché, 75-76.
67. Much of the building of the Fort Providence mission was done by two Métis employees of the Company, Bouvier and Forcier. Grouard, 68. It was unusual to have a Roman Catholic in charge of a post as was the case in 1880 at Fort Good Hope when M. Gaudet was factor. P. Breton, Irish Hermit of the Arctic, trans. J. Mullany (Edmonton: Editions de L'Ermitage Publishers, 1963), 102.
68. Stewart, "Fort McPherson and the Peel River Area," 289.
Being Protestant themselves, and generally Scots Presbyterian, the traders at Peel's River used their influence to prevent the spread of Roman Catholicism among the Loucheux of Fort McPherson, and to favour the work of the Protestant missionaries. Ibid., 291 .
69. Grouard, 306.
70. Ibid.
71. The Oblate chronicler, Duchaussois, saw the relationship between employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and Catholic missionaries as follows:
The officials of the company, chief traders and chief factors, were mostly Scottish or English Protestants, who, although often kind and obliging,

had an inherited dislike of 'Popery and wooden shoes' (Duchaussois, Mid Snow and Ice, 7).

72. According to Cody, Hunter did not attempt to proselytize the natives at Fort Resolution because this would have interfered with Catholic interests, instead he went down river to Forts Simpson, Liard, Norman, and Good Hope. Cody, 54. Taché saw Hunter's mission as one inspired by the Chief Factor at Fort Simpson who had warned that he would seek Protestant ministers for the Mackenzie once the Catholics had "y mettions le pied." (Taché, 104).
73. Ibid., 103 (investigator's italics), 134, 142.
74. Vide Taché, 159, 163, 168, 178, 179, 204. Grouard later commented on the constancy of the Indians at Forts Rae and Resolution:

Les ministres protestants ont essayé plusieurs fois de s'établir au Fort Rae, la fidélité inébranlable de Plats-Côtés-de-Chiens à la religion catholique a forcé l'ennemi à battre en retraite [1890] (Grouard, 309).

C'est le temple protestant [Fort Resolution] du bishop Bompas [Anglican Bishop Mackenzie River 1874-1890 succeeded by W. N. Reeve in 1890] , fermé et complètement abandonné 1900. Devant la foi robuste de nos chrétiens, le ministre a battu en retraite et personne n'est venu le remplacer (Ibid., 380).

The faith of the Indians at Fort Good Hope and Fort Liard was carefully nurtured and both forts became Catholic strongholds. Vide Duchaussois, 203; Grouard, 57-60, 99.
75. Rev. W. Kirkby replaced Archdeacon Hunter in 1859 and it was not until 1865 that he was seconded by another Anglican missionary, W. Bompas. The Anglicans attempted to maintain regular missions at Forts McPherson, Norman, and Simpson, and to visit as many other posts as possible, however, frequent and prolonged absences from their scattered missions caused Bompas concern:

...The Indians will lose all confidence in the permanence and reliability of our instruction, and will be thrown more completely than ever into the arms of Rome (W. C. Bompas quoted in Cody, 134).
76. At the meeting at Ile-à-la Crosse in 1860 (vide supra, 40), Taché and his confrères determined that the north-western districts of the diocese of St. Boniface should be erected into a vicariate with H. Faraud as its first bishop. Canonical approbation for these decisions was given on May 13, 1862 and Faraud was informed of his appointment in July, 1863. Taché, 142, 143, 181.

Fort Providence never became the bishop's seat, however.

Faraud resided at Lac La Biche and St. Bernard's Mission [Grouard] ; Grouard at St. Bernard and Fort Chipewyan; Breynat at Fort Resolution and later at Fort Smith. Fort Smith has been the official seat of the Mackenzie Vicariate since 1922. For the various ecclesiastical boundaries that encompassed the Mackenzie and the Catholic missions in the district vide Figure 3, Appendix A.

77. Taché, 204. For a discussion of Grandin's role in the establishment of Roman Catholic separate and Indian schools in the Northwest Territories, vide infra, 73-75 and 93-96.

78. Grouard, 283.

79. An example of such a conversion is cited by Breynat. Hay River (La Rivière du Foin) had been visited intermittently by Catholic priests from 1869 on; however, no permanent mission was established there until 1900 when all "but two families were apostate [Anglican] ." Breynat (Flying Bishop,) 35. In 1895 the Anglican mission at Fort Resolution was closed and a new mission center, including a residential school, was built at Hay River to serve the Anglicans of the Great Slave Lake area. A. J. Vale (formerly Principal of the Anglican School at Hay River) to J. L. Robinson (Associate Professor of Geography, University of British Columbia), March 9, 1946, in J. L. Robinson's "History of the Mackenzie Missions" (Ottawa: Manuscript Group 30, PAC). With the arrival of Father Gouy in 1900 many of the native people of Hay River returned "à leur première foi..." and they became "bons priants et fidèles à leur devoirs de catholiques." Breynat, Flying Bishop, 40.

For a record of similar Catholic gains at Fort Simpson, Fort Wrigley, and Fort Norman vide Lesage, 6-24 and Duchaussois, 252-264.

80. Grouard, 353.

D.B. Marsh (Anglican Bishop of the Arctic) explained the Catholic retreat from the Delta as follows:

in the year 1894, the Chief of the Eskimos announced to Mr. [I.O.] Stringer that the people had decided to listen to the missionaries of the Anglican Church...only.... Because of warnings from the Chief respecting their safety, the representatives of the Roman Church withdrew from Eskimo work for over a quarter of a century in that area. Marsh, Arctic Century (Bishop's letter), (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, 1957?), 11.

81. Census of Canada 1902, I, 282.

82. Census of Canada 1911, I, 146. Many of the Anglicans lived in the area of Fort McPherson (1911 population, 387). Ibid., 171.

83. Taché, 100.
84. E. Petitot compiled an Eskimo dictionary on the basis of his observations of the Eskimo language taken during his trip to the Mackenzie Delta in 1868. Jenness, 15-16.
85. Duchaussois, 310-317; D. Jenness, The People of the Twilight (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 76-80.
86. Jenness, 24.
87. The Anglican missionary, H. Girling, had a successful tour of the Coronation Gulf area in 1915. Anglican missionaries were also resident at Bernard Harbour in 1916. J. L. Robinson, 2.
88. "Seul au Grand Lac D'Ours" Pôle et Tropiques (Juillet-Aôut, 1965), xi.
89. Duchaussois, 318.
90. A. G. Morice, The Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest (Winnipeg: 200 Austin Street, 1936), 63.

CHAPTER III
CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN EDUCATION
IN THE MACKENZIE DISTRICT TO 1921

This chapter will discuss Catholic schools in the Mackenzie District, and educational relations between the Catholic church and the federal and territorial governments, both before 1921. A summary of part one ends the chapter.

1. Catholic Mission Schools in the Mackenzie

Four Catholic mission schools were established in the Mackenzie prior to 1921: Fort Providence (1867), Fort Resolution (1903), Fort Smith (1915), and Fort Simpson (1918). In addition to residential accomodation at Forts Resolution and Providence, primarily for orphaned children, each of these schools had three fundamental objectives: the first was to instruct native children in the Catholic faith; the second, a corollary to the first, was to mitigate the influence of Anglican missionaries by means of formal Catholic schooling; and the third was to provide Indian and Métis children with some secular instruction. The first objective-the school's catechetical role-was paramount. Though other social and cultural changes occurred in these institutions, the mission school's efficiency, in so far as the Catholic missionaries were concerned, was judged according to the level of religious orthodoxy of the pupils during and after their time in school. Greater emphasis was given to secular instruction in the case of the few Euro-Canadian children who enrolled. However, the general objectives were viewed as being entirely appropriate for the native child's future social, economic, and spiritual

life. The implementation and the consequences of these objectives will be reviewed in a discussion of the two types of schools, the residential and day.

Mission Residential Schools

In 1858 Taché decided that schools would be established in chronological order according to the date of foundation of the various missions.¹ Oblates in the Mackenzie therefore could not anticipate the arrival of the Grey Nuns² until older missions in the diocese, such as Fort Chipewyan, were provided with schools. However, when Grandin selected the site of the mission of Providence in 1861, he also considered the establishment of a convent-hospital and school in the proposed seat of the new vicariate. Writing to Mother Deschamps (superior general of the Grey Nuns) from Fort Rae on May 3, 1862, Grandin commented on conditions in the district: "A minister [Kirkby] was established at the principal fort [Simpson]" and "was receiving aid from officers of the Company." He was giving the Indians "presents" with the result that some of them "had sold their souls for some sugar and tea." At present there were only two Protestant ministers, Kirkby and a school master, Mackenzie, to oppose, but serious consequences could be expected if their numbers increased and if their gospel reached more tribes. What was needed was the presence of "three or four sisters" who would teach, nurse, provide care for orphans, and who would by their very lives give the Indians "an example of true charity" in contrast to the presents of the "English priest." There was only "a rough cross" at Fort Providence at the time, but Grandin promised that suitable buildings would be ready by the "fall of 1863." Grandin

concluded by asking that sisters be sent to both Forts Providence and Chipewyan, but if this was not possible at least one community should be provided for Fort Providence, where the need was greatest.³

Though he apparently received no reply to his request, Grandin began work on the convent in the spring of 1863 with his confrère, Grouard, who viewed the undertaking as "very hazardous."⁴

On Faraud's return from his consecration in France in the spring of 1865, he received definite assurance from Mother Slocombe (superior general of the Grey Nuns) that a community would be sent to Fort Providence.⁵ Shortly after his arrival at the northern mission he wrote to the mother general on the success of his missions, although the Anglican presence was causing some difficulty: "Nous avons un petit loup dans les nouvelles [Simpson and Norman] qui devore le troupeau."⁶ Construction of the convent had almost been completed when he received word from Mother Slocombe that five sisters would leave for the north in the fall of 1866.⁷ On August 28, 1867, the nuns reached Providence and immediately took eight orphans into their foundation, the Hospital of the Sacred Heart: "Ainsi cette petite colonie de Srs. Grises était venue s'établir dans ces lieux les plus reculés et les plus inhospitaliers du globe..."⁸

From the beginning the convent experienced a serious shortage of food.⁹ The sisters and the orphans depended almost entirely on the often unreliable resources of local game and the fall fishery.¹⁰ In addition to these sources the sisters also benefited from the occasional harvest of the mission gardens. When reports of the food shortage were received at the mother house, Mother Slocombe notified Faraud

that the sisters could have a longer period of rest, hoping the relaxation of the rule might alleviate some of the distress.¹¹ In 1877, Bishop I. Clut, (Faraud's coadjutor) noted a general lack of provisions;¹² in 1879, the mission garden failed;¹³ and in 1880, Faraud reported that there was little fish or meat.¹⁴ Throughout this period the financial resources of the northern missions were extremely low particularly because political conditions in France and the Papal States had cut back the receipts of the vicariate.¹⁵ So common were reports of "les maladies, les privations croissantes, les travaux manuels et certain malaise entre les Pères et les Soeurs" at Providence that Mother Deschamps decided to have the foundation abandoned not later than 1881, and to relocate the nuns at the Lac La Biche and Fort Chipewyan convents.¹⁶ Clut wrote that her decision caused him "une douleur profonde. Ce sont les pauvres enfants négligés, le protestantisme triomphant, la desolation des bonnes Soeurs, et enfin, l'abandon relatif des Pères et des frères eux-mêmes."¹⁷ Taché viewed the removal as "un grand malheur,"¹⁸ and was impatient with Deschamps' concern for the sisters at Providence: "Pas une seule est morte."¹⁹ Faraud found the condition of the sisters to be "ni mieux ni pires qu'elles toujours été." He further argued that their state was much better than that of the Oblate fathers: "Je suis convaincu qu'il n'y pas un seul père dans nos pauvres missions qui n'ait eu vingt fois plus a souffrir que les soeurs."²⁰ In the face of such opposition, Deschamps capitulated, and the news reached the north in February, 1882, "that the sisters at Providence will remain."²¹

Notwithstanding these difficulties the orphanage and school contin-

ued to operate; in fact the number of children in the former institution increased - from twelve in 1870²² to twenty-eight in 1878.²³

According to Bishop Clut, the difference between the children of the orphanage and those of the woods and forts was so great that it more than compensated for the many days the Oblates spent in the wilderness in search of food.²⁴ Some of the children died soon after their arrival at the orphanage, but at least they had the "blessing of baptism."²⁵ Sister Ward, who later became superior of the Providence convent, saw the orphanage as a means of countering the activities of the wives of the Protestant factors:

[They were] plus fanatiques encore que leur maris, font une espèce de propagande bien fusente à nos pauvres sauvages si faciles à séduire. Elles tâchent toujours d'avoir quelques petites sauvagesses orphelines comme servantes. Elles les élèvent protestantes....²⁶

The school, which opened in October 1867, gave instruction to some of the orphans as well as to a few Métis children whose parents were employed at the local Hudson's Bay post.²⁷ Prior to the construction of an addition to the convent in 1899, the enrollment at the school or the orphanage never exceeded thirty. The average period of instruction and residence was three years for the boys and four for the girls.²⁸ Within this context, the sisters, together with the Oblate priests, taught the catechism, and some reading, writing, and arithmetic. Although some English was taught, French was the ordinary language of instruction. The children also learned many prayers and hymns in their native language. The school was viewed essentially as a missionary enterprise, a means of spreading the knowledge and practice of the Catholic faith. Instruction was predicated on the belief that

the children, upon leaving the convent, would spread "the knowledge of our holy religion among their brothers."²⁹ The school was also seen as a counterbalance to the work of the Anglicans. In a letter to Faraud the Oblates at Providence objected vigorously to the proposed abandonment of the school. Among the reasons for their protest was the following: "L'Ecole de la Providence supprimée, les Ecoles protestantes du district, sont celle-ci seule, vous le savez, neutralisait l'influence, vont se multiplier et resteront maîtresses du terrain sur toute la ligne...."³⁰ Finally, the school was seen as an indication of the Catholic presence, a projection of the church's image to "the eyes of our separated brethren who attach great importance to the external advantages of education and who are willing to spend considerable amounts to sustain error."³¹ The work of the sisters was generally appreciated. Chief Factor W. Christie of Fort Simpson visited the school in 1873 and "expressed his satisfaction at the excellent progress made by the Indian and half breed children under the direction of the Sisters of Charity."³²

In the same year that the Providence convent was enlarged (1899), a treaty was concluded with the Indians of the south shore region of Great Slave Lake.³³ As the school at Providence was outside the treaty area, there was little hope of securing for it a government boarding school allowance. Consequently Bishop Grouard considered establishing a residential school within treaty boundaries at either Hay River or Resolution.³⁴ After it was decided that Resolution would be the site of the school, Grouard was unable to obtain sisters for the new institution; this fact together with his efforts to secure

grants and staff for several boarding schools in the Athabasca District forced him to postpone further consideration of the Resolution project.³⁵

After making a brief review of Grouard's unsuccessful attempts to secure a promise of sisters for Fort Resolution, Breynat (the new Bishop of the Mackenzie Vicariate), in a letter to the Mother General in February, 1902, insisted that there be no more temporizing on the matter. He noted that the Anglican Bishop, W. D. Reeve, was planning to operate a school at Resolution sometime in 1903, and as the government favoured Reeve's church, the project would undoubtedly be realized. If a Catholic school was established after the Anglican, the Catholic cause would encounter grave difficulties. Breynat would have preferred to have sisters in the spring of 1902; that would, he said, "couper l'herbe sous les pieds des ministres." However, if the Grey Nuns could not promise sisters by 1903, then Breynat would reluctantly be forced to call in another congregation. He concluded by apologizing for his frankness, but he wanted a decisive reply.³⁶

On April 19, 1903, five Grey Nuns left Montreal for Fort Resolution; on June 22 they landed at the post and took up temporary residence in a mission storehouse. On July 25 they moved into a forty-by thirty-foot convent.³⁷ That day they received five Indian children into their house: "L'Ecole St. Joseph de Fort Résolution était fondée."³⁸

Under Breynat's careful management both residential schools were enlarged; by 1910, there were forty-five children at St. Joseph's School (Resolution), and sixty-five at the Sacred Heart School (Providence).³⁹ Approximately eighty children were enrolled at both

institutions when F. H. Kitto (director, Northwest Territories Branch, Department of the Interior) visited them in 1920.⁴⁰ Although it was not uncommon for one or two children to die in residence each year,⁴¹ neither school again experienced the type of epidemic that killed ten of the fifty-four children at Providence in 1903.⁴² During the first two decades of the century, the curriculum was expanded, a more formal grade structure was developed, and English gradually became the language of instruction.⁴³ French was still common; La Voix Amie, an annual bulletin to former pupils of the Providence school, was published in French well into the 1920's.⁴⁴

Mission Day Schools

In September 1912, Breynat wrote Mother Piché to ask for sisters for two new foundations, Fort Smith and Fort Simpson. He had already discussed his proposal with her during her visit to the Mackenzie earlier that year. The sisters (two or three were required at each place) would staff two small mission hospitals.⁴⁵ Reverend J. Lucas (Anglican minister, Fort Simpson), was, according to Breynat, very much opposed to the hospital project at Simpson: "...Il y'a vingt ans que je [Lucas] suis dans le pays, je n'ai jamais constaté la nécessité d'un hôpital."⁴⁶ Word was also received from Mother Piché that the Grey Nuns could not staff the new foundations. Two months after Piché's refusal, Breynat notified her that he was coming to Montreal and that he hoped she had not said the last word on the subject.⁴⁷ In Breynat's letter to the Mother General there was no mention of day schools; however, the matter was undoubtedly raised during his meeting with

Mother Piché in Montreal. Immediately upon his return to the Mackenzie, Breynat began construction. The Fort Smith hospital was completed in 1914, the day school in 1915; in Fort Simpson, the hospital in 1916, the day school in 1918.⁴⁸ In 1914, Sister Léveillé was named mother provincial of the new Grey Nun province (Divine Providence) that was to include all the convents in the Mackenzie as well as the one at Fort Chipewyan.⁴⁹ Accompanied by three sisters, Léveillé left Montreal in the spring of 1914 to establish a provincial house in Fort Smith. Two years later, four sisters arrived at Fort Simpson.⁵⁰

Breynat's decision to build day schools at Forts Simpson and Smith, the enrollments of which would be predominantly Indian, contradicts statements in his autobiography on the worth of Indian day schools. In his opinion one residential school accomplished much more than ten day schools, because the latter institutions left the matter of character formation to Indian and Métis parents who usually were incapable of providing their children with adequate nourishment, appropriate discipline, or adequate living accommodation.⁵¹ There were, on the other hand, a number of immediate arguments for day schools at these posts. First, they did not entail the substantial capital cost of residential schools. Second, staff was available from the hospitals to act as day school teachers. Third, some form of education was needed in both settlements. Fort Smith, a predominantly Catholic community, had no school. There was also a need for a Catholic school in Fort Simpson, not only to provide formal instruction for children of that faith but also to lessen the influence of the "protestant opposition" (Anglican school).⁵² In so far as the duplication of school facilities

at Simpson was concerned, Breynat saw no difficulty; the government should assist any school, whether established by private or denominational interest, as long as such school enrolled five or more children.⁵³

In September 1915 Sister Gadbois enrolled eleven pupils in a small school near the Fort Smith mission hospital.⁵⁴ Three years later Sister McGuirk left Providence for Simpson at the request of Father Andurand (superior, Fort Simpson) who had promised "aux Messieurs du Gouvernement" that a school would be opened in the fall of 1918.⁵⁵ Sister Gadbois appeared to manage the school quite well along with her other duties as interpreter, sacristan, portress, refectress, secretary, and laundress for the Oblate fathers.⁵⁶ Sister McGuirk was less happy with her school which enrolled between five and eleven pupils. Most of the people, she said, preferred to have their children sent to a boarding school "where of course they are far better preserved from sin, and last but not least, their protestant neighbors!" She could not see why "his Lordship [Breynat] had established a school at Fort Simpson when the children would be a thousand times better off in Providence or Resolution."⁵⁷

2. Education Relations Between the Catholic Church and the Federal and Territorial Governments.

Church-state relations in education in the Mackenzie District will be examined in terms of each of the following: (1) the British North America Act; (2) the Canadian statutes; and (3) the ordinances of the Northwest Territories. Under each the general consequences as well as the practical effect of the legislation upon Catholic educational interests in the Mackenzie will be discussed.

The British North America Act

Three sections of the British North America Act ultimately affected church-state relations in education in the Mackenzie: section 93 (1867),⁵⁸ section four (1871),⁵⁹ and section 91 (1867).⁶⁰ Section 93 provides that provinces may "exclusively make laws in relation to education" excepting those rights and privileges accorded to denominational schools by law at the time of union, or any such right or privilege subsequently given to separate or dissentient schools by a provincial legislature.⁶¹ Although the denominational principle so clearly recognized in these clauses did not apply to the territories, the compromise Quebec resolution, which had as its purpose the protection of sectarian minority rights in education for Upper and Lower Canada, was eventually extended into the vast areas of the Canadian Northwest.⁶² In 1871 the British North America Act was amended. Section 4 provided the Canadian Parliament with legislative powers for all matters, including education, for the recently acquired area of the Northwest Territory and Rupert's Land:

The Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the administrations, peace, order and good government of any territory, not for the time being included in any province.⁶³

The third section, ninety-one, heading twenty-four, provided that the Canadian Parliament has exclusive legislative authority in all matters concerning "Indians and lands reserved for Indians."⁶⁴ This proviso allowed for special legislation by the federal government in several matters, including education, which, according to Section 93, was within provincial or territorial jurisdiction. The degree to which each of these statutes influenced educational development in newly

organized territories will become apparent in an examination of relevant portions of the Canadian statutes.

Canadian Statutes

Acting under the authority of section four of the British North America Act (1871), Alexander Mackenzie's federal administration introduced legislation in the parliamentary session of 1875 to provide the Northwest Territories with the primary institutions of government. The bill was passed by the Lower House without division; however, one of its clauses became the subject of a vigorous debate in the Senate:

11. When, and so soon as any system of taxation shall be adopted in any district or portion of the North-West Territories, the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect of education; but it shall therein be always provided, that a majority of the rate-payers of any district or portion of the North-West Territories, or any lesser portion or sub-division thereof, by whatever name the same may be known, may establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor; and further, that the minority of the rate-payers therein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools therein, and that, in such latter case, the rate-payers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they may impose upon themselves in respect thereof.⁶⁵

To several senators, notably J. Aikens, G. Brown, and B. Flint, the intent of section eleven to extend the denominational school principle of the B.N.A. Act (1867) to the territories was, at best, unwarranted. A motion to delete the denominational aspects of the section was narrowly defeated, and the school clause, together with the other provisions of the bill, became law.⁶⁶

As the implementation of section eleven was dependent on the advance of white settlement and the subsequent development of municipal

institutions, it was of consequence only to the southern territorial Districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta throughout the period of territorial government, 1876 to 1905. Even though there was little prospect of municipal government in the Mackenzie after the creation of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, the section was included in the Northwest Territories Amendment Act of 1905.⁶⁷ Moreover, the inclusion of the denominational clause for the residual Northwest Territories (Ungava, Franklin, Keewatin, and Mackenzie) met with none of the opposition it had encountered in the federal debates of 1876, 1890, and 1905.⁶⁸ Mr. H. Lennox (Conservative, South Simcoe) was the only member of Parliament who raised the matter of the denominational clause:

...Whether these laws [school clause] be good or bad, we may be confronted in the future with the same unfortunate condition as we had to face this session [autonomy bills]. When we come to establish this remaining portion of the Territories into a province, we may be met with the same argument on the school question as we were met with this session and be told that we are bound by what happened before.

His remarks were not commented upon; the bill received second and third reading without further observations on the school clause.⁶⁹ When the bill reached the Senate, its rapid and uneventful passage prompted Sir Mackenzie Bowell (Conservative, Ontario) to remark: 'We might as well take these Bills, hold them up and say first, second, and third reading.'⁷⁰ The school clause, section ten in the Northwest Territories Act of 1906, was bequeathed to the residual territories:

10. The Commissioner in Council if authorized to make Ordinances respecting education shall pass all necessary Ordinances in respect thereto; in the laws or Ordinances relating to education it shall always be provided that a

majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of the Territories or any less portion or subdivision thereof by whatever name the same is known, may establish such schools therein as they think fit and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor; and also that the minority of the ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools therein and in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.⁷¹

As none of the schools in the Mackenzie were supported by municipal systems, the section had no immediate educational significance. In fact the section was so worded that it prevented the Commissioner in Council from passing any form of educational legislation. The 1905 amendment to the Northwest Territories Act empowered the Commissioner in Council to enact legislation upon the authorization of the Governor in Council.⁷² The wording of the school clause, section ten, in the revised Northwest Territories Act of 1906, nevertheless, was incomplete. The section reads "The Commissioner in Council if authorized to make Ordinances respecting education...."⁷³ However, the expression had meaning only if it were followed by the phrase 'by the Governor in Council.' Consequently the Commissioner in Council had no authorization to make ordinances in respect to education from 1906 to 1946. On July 18, 1946, this deficiency was corrected to end a forty-year moratorium of the power to enact educational legislation, when an order in council was passed designating "education as a subject within the legislative authority of the Commissioner in Council of the Northwest Territories."⁷⁴ Needless to say, the amendment in no way affected the denominational clauses of the section which had not been utilized by either Protestant or Roman Catholic minorities in the Mackenzie for seventy years. Their retention, however, was a crucial

factor in the erection of the first separate school district at Yellowknife in 1951 when white settlement and local government made such an establishment possible.⁷⁵

Another Canadian statute, the Indian Act of 1876⁷⁶ and subsequent amendments, had a more immediate and long lasting effect on Catholic educational interests in the Mackenzie. Prior to this enactment, two references to Indian schools had been made in earlier statutes. In 1868 legislation was passed to allow portions of the Indian fund, which was held in trust by the federal government, to be distributed to schools on Indian reserves.⁷⁷ The following year authority was given to band chiefs to spend funds for the construction and maintenance of school buildings.⁷⁸ In 1871 a treaty (No. 1) was signed with the Chippewa and Cree of southern Manitoba.⁷⁹ The content of this and later treaties varied little, the Indians agreeing to give up their tribal areas and promising "to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen," in exchange for reserves (specified land areas), nominal annuity payments and other gifts, certain hunting and fishing rights, and teachers' salaries:

Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their Reserves and shall desire teachers.⁸⁰

When the Indian Act was passed in 1876, five such treaties had been concluded in the Northwest Territories; however, the sole reference to schools in the consolidation was the one in the statute of 1869. Despite the fact that each treaty had made specific promises in regard to schools, the Act made no reference to denominational school rights,

or more significantly, to such matters "as the establishment of schools, the employment of teachers, curricula or indeed any of the other numerous matters which relate to an educational program." ⁸¹

In 1880 the question of denominational schools for Indians was raised in Parliament. Upon second reading of some minor amendments to the Indian Act, Senator J. Bellerose (Conservative, Quebec) expressed concern that there was nothing in the Bill concerning Indian education; more particularly, he regretted that in some instances Catholic Indians were forced to send their children to schools not "belonging to their creed." He went on to state that, as the government was the protector of the Indians; "...it should see that proper teachers were furnished to the different tribes, according to their religion."⁸² Senator F. X. Trudel (Conservative, Quebec) advanced a similar recommendation when the Bill was in committee: "Would it not be well that those who are sent to teach them [the Indians] agriculture should be persons who would agree with the missionaries and work harmoniously with them?" A. Campbell (Conservative, Ontario) the Senate leader, not only found Trudel's suggestion to be "quite reasonable"; he went further and introduced an amendment to the Bill which laid the basis for all future church-state relations in Indian education:

74. The chief or chiefs of any band in council may frame, subject to confirmation by the Governor in Council, rules and regulations for the following subjects, viz: -
1. As to what religious denomination the teacher of the school established on the reserve shall belong to; provided always, that he shall be of the same denomination as the majority of the band; and provided that the Catholic or Protestant minority may likewise have a separate school with the approval of and under the regulations to be made by the Governor in Council.⁸³

On November 10, 1894, under the authority of chapter 32 of the Canadian Statutes of 1894,⁸⁴ an order in council was passed that contained a number of regulations on the operation of Indian schools, several of which referred to the attendance of Indian children at boarding and industrial schools. None of the regulations in any way impaired the denominational principle of the 1880 amendment; in fact the intent of the earlier denominational clause was widened by regulation number 14 which implicitly forbade the attendance of Roman Catholic Indian children at any school operated by a Protestant agency, and vice versa:

14. Notwithstanding anything in these regulations contained, no Protestant child shall be placed in a Roman Catholic school or in a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices, and no Roman Catholic child shall be placed in a Protestant school or in a school conducted under Protestant auspices.⁸⁵

Until 1920 no additional references were made in amendments to the Indian Act in regard to denominational rights in education.⁸⁶ In that year the superintendent general of Indian Affairs (the minister of the Interior) was empowered by statute to make regulations for Indian day schools.⁸⁷ The same statute, however, limited his regulatory power in that a Catholic child could only attend a school operated by a religious organization if it was conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic church.⁸⁸ It meant, therefore, that if there was no day, boarding, or industrial school of his faith available, a Roman Catholic child was not allowed to enroll in any school operated by a non-Catholic religious organization. Similar restrictions applied to Protestant children. Though there was nothing in the Act to preclude the enrollment of an Indian child of any faith at a non-

denominational school, this option was not a valid one in the Northwest Territories, where practically all Indian education had been delegated by the federal government to religious agencies.⁸⁹

Throughout the first forty years (1880-1920) of the operation of those sections of the Indian Act relating to education, the relationship between church and state in Indian education was never seriously questioned in parliament. Unlike the religious and political controversies that invariably attended the Manitoba and Northwest Territories school debates,⁹⁰ the government's role in supporting the educational enterprises of various missions was subject only to the occasional query regarding the cost of the subsidization. On the one hand, it was sometimes criticized as in 1894, when M. McMullen (Liberal, North Wellington) suggested that the support afforded Indian schools "could be cut down."⁹¹ On the other hand, a common justification advanced for the church-state accord in Indian education by government officials was that it was a co-operative venture in which "... the churches loyally made up the deficiency out of their own revenues...."⁹² Generally speaking, therefore, the church-oriented system of education "embodied the opinions of most Canadians, particularly of the people in any way concerned with the education of Indians, except possibly the Indians themselves."⁹³

Several missionary churches, principally the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic, had been active in Indian education in the Northwestern Territory and Rupert's Land prior to Confederation.⁹⁴ With the transfer of the territories to Canada in 1870 and the consequent treaty programme, the various denominations began to petition the

federal government for school grants.⁹⁵ Following the practice of the governments of Upper and Lower Canada, the Departments of the Secretary of State (1867-1873) and the Interior (1873-1936) maintained the policy of aiding Indian schools and assumed "more and more responsibility for education, at least financially."⁹⁶ By 1894 three types of government-aided Indian mission schools had evolved: (1) the day school which received a maximum grant of \$300.00; (2) the boarding school which received a per capita grant for a certain number of pupils in amounts ranging from ten to seventy-two dollars; and (3) industrial schools which received full operating grants.⁹⁷ Though the department's assistance was often parsimonious and reluctant, as it provided few capital allowances and its annual subsidies were usually below necessary or actual operating expenditures, the number of Indian mission schools grew steadily. For example, government-aided Roman Catholic Indian schools in the territories, with grants of \$718.45 in 1877, \$81,543.61 in 1896, and \$104,175.81 in 1906,⁹⁸ rose from three to twenty-four in corresponding years.⁹⁹

Notwithstanding this assistance, relations between officials of the Indian Affairs Department and Roman Catholic authorities in the territories were not always amicable. When disputes arose over the establishment of churches and schools on Indian reserves and related matters, Grandin wrote to Sir H. Langevin (minister of Public Works) to secure a statement from the government on its attitude toward missionary activity among Indian bands. In a conciliatory reply, the Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, enunciated four principal guidelines that were, insofar as the government was concerned, to

govern church-state relations in Indian affairs: (1) the religious liberty of Catholic Indians would be respected and they would never be deprived of advantages granted to others on account of their religion; (2) the Department would see that the ecclesiastical activities of Catholic missionaries would in no way be interfered with by any government official; (3) the Indians would not be compelled to abandon reserves on which religious establishments had been provided; and (4) government officials were not to insist, under any pretext, on Indians sending their children to schools where their religious faith might be imperilled or not respected.¹⁰⁰

Macdonald's statement together with the 1880 amendment relating to denominational schools were tested in 1889 when Grandin moved to establish a church and school on the Thunder Child reserve, an Indian settlement already serviced by an Anglican missionary and school-teacher. Indian agents reported that the Indians were very much against the proposed mission; according to one account, they were prepared to burn down the Catholic establishment.¹⁰¹ Upon receipt of such reports, L. Vankoughnet (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) advised H. Reed (Indian Commissioner, Regina) "that the Department did not wish to take up any course that would be contrary to the assurances given His Lordship [Grandin] by Sir John MacDonald."¹⁰² Shortly thereafter Vankoughnet wrote E. Dewdney (minister of the Interior) to assure him that the department did not wish to interfere with Grandin's "aspirations" but that it opposed the project because the Indians had petitioned "that no Catholic schools be allowed."¹⁰³ A letter to this effect was sent to Grandin by W. McGirr, Reed's clerk in Regina; he

hoped that Grandin would discourage any attempt "to establish a church or school on Thunderchild's reserve," because such an undertaking would be opposed "by the Indians, and consequently unsanctioned by the Department."¹⁰⁴ Two months later, on December 18, 1889, Grandin informed Reed that "...La religion étant exclusivement une affaire de conscience ne peut dependre ni d'un chef ni d'une majorité"; moreover he argued that the majority of the Thunder Child tribe were Catholics and that the agent's information was based solely on the opinions of the chief and a few others. The bishop contended further that the Indians "aurient droit au moins à une école catholique" through the provisions of the Indian Act.¹⁰⁵ A month later Reed received word that Father Vachon had opened a church on the reserve.¹⁰⁶ The new mission's future was still rather precarious when Grandin visited Ottawa in the summer of 1890. There he had two lengthy conversations with Dewdney,¹⁰⁷ the results of which were summarized by the minister in a memorandum dated September 5, 1890. To a large extent Dewdney's letter reiterated the guidelines set forth by Macdonald; in addition, the central issue of the Thunder Child dispute was resolved as follows:

...I have determined to recommend that a minority school be put there, that the law provides for it, and that the Chief cannot be allowed to interfere in...its operation. As soon as the Chief has timely notice of this I can see no objection to starting the school house and I will arrange that every assistance is given by our officials.¹⁰⁸

A Catholic school was opened in 1891, and despite the presence of an Anglican rival it had little difficulty in attaining an average daily attendance of eight pupils, the requirement for a government grant of \$300.¹⁰⁹

In September 1890 Grandin issued a pastoral that contained copies of Macdonald's and Dewdney's correspondence together with a list of procedures that the missionaries were to use in dealing with government officials. To Grandin, the Thunder Child controversy set a precedent for future church-state relations in the territories:

Prions Dieu et faisons tous des voeux pour que désormais nous n'ayons plus à déplorer des choses pénibles comme il s'en est passé sur certaines réserves, surtout sur celle de Thunder Child...Puissions-nous désormais avoir la paix avec tout le monde, avec les employés du gouvernement surtout!¹¹⁰

The following excerpts from the correspondence of H. Reed¹¹¹ (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, 1893-1897) give further evidence of the significant, often dominant, role played by the mission churches in Indian education in the territories. On such matters as school attendance, discipline, or the condition of school buildings, Reed's advice to field officers was invariably the same: "the attention of the Church authorities should be called to the matter."¹¹² Even the question of adequate fire protection was the department's responsibility only in the few cases where it had provided capital grants; otherwise, the church was to see "that the necessary fire appliances are provided."¹¹³ The admission, retention, and destination of Indian pupils also had profound denominational overtones: the provisions of the Indian Act in regard to school admission and the religion of the teacher were strictly adhered to;¹¹⁴ in instances where Catholic or Protestant children were found to be enrolled in schools not of their faith, they were removed;¹¹⁵ and employment opportunities were denied pupils for similar reasons:

...The Department does not consider that it would be advisable to send this boy [student at Qu'Appelle R.C. Industrial School] to Rupert's Land to carry on a bakery there, as it might give rise to dissatisfaction on the account of the boy being a Roman Catholic.¹¹⁶

Essentially the department exercised control in but one area, the subsidization of Indian mission schools, although even here it was subject to constant pressure. From March 1896 to December 1896, for example, Reed dealt with at least ten requests for initial or increased grants to mission schools in the Northwest; in each instance he extended the department's "regrets" and advised "that no additional funds were available."¹¹⁷

It took some time before the implications of the Indian Act and the practices of the Department of Indian Affairs were to affect the operation of the convent at Fort Providence, the sole Catholic educational institution in the Mackenzie until the establishment of a second school at Resolution in 1903. Nevertheless, the pattern of church-state relations in Indian education that had evolved in the southern portion of the territories in the first two decades after the passage of the Act provided the substance of the dialogue that inevitably occurred between authorities of the northern vicariate and officials of the department.

In 1877 Bishop Faraud wrote E. Meredith (deputy minister of the Interior) to request assistance for the residential schools at Forts Providence and Chipewyan.¹¹⁸ The latter institution had been established by a group of sisters from Providence in 1874, largely because the Anglicans had opened a school near the Lake Athabasca mission. No aid was forthcoming, however; in fact thirteen years

later Clut patiently reiterated Faraud's request and added a third school to his petition, a boarding school at Lesser Slave Lake.¹¹⁹ In December 1895, Bishop Grouard wrote to H. Reed and A. Forget (Indian Commissioner, Regina) insisting that he receive the same "share of the government bounty" for his three boarding schools that was being given to an Anglican boarding school at Lesser Slave Lake - one thousand dollars per annum.¹²⁰ Forget, a Roman Catholic, was sympathetic to Grouard's request and pressed the department to issue a subsidy. Reed, on the other hand, was more circumspect, promising only that the department would review the request.¹²¹ Clut wrote the deputy minister and Superintendent Reed again in 1896; all three Catholic mission schools were without assistance, although each of them enrolled more pupils than the school conducted by the Anglican Mr. Holmes at Lesser Slave Lake: "Is it not quite natural that we should expect from the government at least the same treatment."¹²² In August of the same year, Forget reported that a grant of two hundred dollars, the standard allowance for Indian day schools outside of treaty limits, had been authorized for the Catholic school at Chipewyan, leaving the other two schools of the vicariate still without subsidy. He also noted that the Church of England was in receipt of day school grants for its schools at Vermillion and Chipewyan as well as a boarding school allowance for its Lesser Slave Lake establishment.¹²³

During the next two years, 1897-1898, the vicariate's campaign for school aid met with little success. In January 1897, a grant for the Catholic boarding school at Lesser Slave Lake was again disallowed. Clut vigorously protested this decision, noting it was the third time that the department had denied Catholic institutions the same "justice"

TABLE II

Grants made by the Department of Indian Affairs and the Government
of the Northwest Territories to Roman Catholic mission schools
in the Mackenzie District to March 31, 1921*

SACRED HEART CONVENT - FORT PROVIDENCE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Indian Affairs Grant¹</u>	<u>Average Daily Attendance² Indian Children</u>	<u>Gov't N.W.T. Grant³</u>	<u>Indian Affairs Grant</u>	<u>Average Daily Attendance Indian Children</u>	<u>Gov't N.W.T. Grant</u>
1867						
1889	nil	--	nil	100	35	300
1890	nil	--	400	2,210.40	45	400
1891	nil	--	400	3,857.40	46	500
1892	nil	--	600	3,917.40	65	400
1893	nil	--	300	4,501.80	62	400
1894	nil	--	200	7,263.75	66	400
1895	nil	--	300	8,742.50	54	500
1896	nil	21	166.67	5,481.25	46	300
1897	nil	24	500	4,465.62	46	400
1898	nil	17	200	9,193.00	60	400
1899	300	18	566.66	6,282.60	66	400
1900	250	20	500	7,918.26	59	400
1901	50	21	300	8,332.95	65	400
1902	250	24	500	12,001.19	72	400
1903	50	24	300	8,585.85	59	400
1904	350	32	500			
1905	150	30	400			
1906	200	37	400			

ST. JOSEPH'S - FORT RESOLUTION

1892						
1901	nil	--	766.66 ⁴	2,784.75	26	400
1902-3	nil	--	nil	4,070.31	35	300

ST. JOSEPH'S - FORT RESOLUTION (CONT'D)

Year	Indian Affairs Grant	Average Daily Attendance Indian Children	Gov't N.W.T. Grant	Year	Indian Affairs Grant	Average Daily Attendance Indian Children	Gov't N.W.T. Grant
1904	568.80	13	200	1914	7,010.66	50	500
1905	872.40	14	100	1915	5,049.40	50	400
1906	786	13	150	1916	7,706.87	50	400
1907	541.20	18	150	1917	5,353.39	60	400
1908	1,442.70	17	350	1918	7,864.02	59	400
1909	1,270.20	19	250	1919	8,113.14	60	400
1910	1,374	20	350	1920	10,626.94	63	400
1911	1,811.10	24	400	1921	7,458.53	53	400

ROMAN CATHOLIC DAY SCHOOL - FORT SMITH

1916	174.83	23	nil	1919	670	5	200
1917	771.60	18	250	1920	814.12	6	200
1918	555.75	7	250	1921	412.50	4	100

ST. MARGARET'S SCHOOL - FORT SIMPSON

1919	250	--	nil	1921	623.60	9	nil
1920	825.59	9	nil				

*Source of data: Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1881-1921; Auditor General's Report, 1885-1921, 1920-1921; CSP 1882-1922.

1. This figure includes all school allowances provided by the Department of Indian Affairs; supplies furnishings, bonuses, and the regular day or boarding subsidies.
2. The citation -- indicates only that no attendance figures were contained in the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. The average daily attendance figures were supposed to include only Indian children and therefore were not to include the white, Métis, or Eskimo enrollment. However, as many Indians in the Mackenzie had not adhered to any treaty and were according to the Indian Act in "irregular bands" (Statutes of Canada; 39 Vict., c. 18, s. 3 [2]) the accuracy of these figures is doubtful.

3. For a discussion of grants provided by the Government of the Northwest Territories vide infra, 97.
4. Two grants were paid for Catholic mission schools at Fort Resolution by the N.W.T. government prior to the founding of St. Joseph's: \$466.66 in 1892, and 300 in 1901.

that was being accorded Protestant schools.¹²⁴ Forget submitted two requests for aid in 1898, but his recommendations had little effect.¹²⁵ By the end of the year only Fort Providence was added to the subsidy list, receiving like Chipewyan the two hundred dollar day school grant¹²⁶ (vide Table II for a résumé of state aid to Catholic mission schools in the Mackenzie, 1890-1921).

The year 1899 marked a profound change in relations between the church and the department. In that year the government decided to conclude a treaty with the Indians of the south shore area of Great Slave Lake and the Athabasca District.¹²⁷ In May 1899 a treaty party headed by D. Laird set out from Winnipeg, and by the fall of 1900 the commissioners, assisted by such Catholic missionaries as Grouard, Lacombe, Falher, and Breynat, had succeeded in securing the adhesion of most of the Indian bands to Treaty No. 8.¹²⁸ The treaty document promised the Indians some educational assistance: "Further Her Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Majesty's Government of Canada may seem advisable."¹²⁹ J. D. MacRae, one of the commissioners, reported that the school clause of the treaty was interpreted to the Indians as follows:

...There was no need of any special stipulation, as it was the policy of the Government to provide in every part of the country, as far as circumstances would permit, for the education of Indian children.

In his opinion the only practical way to provide education was by means of boarding schools as the Indians were not inclined to collective settlement. He further noted that most of the Indians were Roman Catholic;

The only other religious denomination that has missionaries in the field is the Church of England, and, as compared with the Roman Catholic church, its men are few, its establishments [schools] small, and, with one exception, nothing like as efficient.¹³⁰

Before the Crees and Montagnais signed the treaty at Chipewyan, they were assured by Commissioners J. Ross and J. McKenna that, as "tous ses congénères étaient catholiques", their schools would be "exclusivement catholiques."¹³¹ Similar promises were obtained at other treaty meetings. James Smart (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) made note of these guarantees in his comments on the treaty in the department's annual report of 1899:

...As to education...the law, which was as strong as a treaty, provided for non-interference with the religion of the Indians in schools maintained or assisted by the government.¹³²

Grouard was delighted with this turn of events; formerly "étions accoutumés à résoudre [educational disbursements] seul," now that a treaty had been signed, the government was henceforth committed to assist the work of the Catholic missionaries.¹³³

When the main treaty party left the vicariate in August 1899, Grouard wrote Sifton to remind him that 90 per cent of the Indians were Roman Catholic and to request that boarding allowances for 330 children be distributed to five mission schools in the Athabasca region.¹³⁴ Sifton's reply contained no promises;¹³⁵ however, in the following year grants of seventy-two dollars per capita were given by the department to three Catholic boarding schools with forty children each at Lesser Slave Lake and Chipewyan, and fifteen children at Smoky River.¹³⁶

Father A. Lecorre was distressed when he learned that the northern

missions were to be excluded from the treaty. It meant that the school at Providence would have to get by with only nominal aid, while the Anglican residential school at Hay River would be eligible for substantial departmental assistance.¹³⁷ He thought it might be expedient to divide the Providence foundation and send some of the sisters to establish a school at Hay River. Then at least a portion of the school would be in a subsidized area; and at the same time, the Catholics would be in rapport with the tribes of the south-west shore of Slave Lake who were subject to Anglican exploitation.¹³⁸ Grouard was less concerned; he argued that the expected assistance for the southern schools of the vicariate would also be felt at Providence: "Cependant comme nous sommes solidaires les uns des autres, celui qui arrive à l'un profite auprès l'autre."¹³⁹ However, he did agree that a Catholic boarding school should be established somewhere on the south shore of Great Slave Lake,¹⁴⁰ but at Fort Resolution, rather than Hay River.

Grouard wrote Prime Minister W. Laurier in October 1900 to thank him for "his benevolent intervention" in securing appropriations for Chipewyan, Lesser Slave Lake, and Smoky Lake (River). He then asked for assistance for three additional residential schools: Fort Vermillion, Lake Wabiskaw (Wabesca), and Fort Resolution. Some sisters were already at Vermillion, and others were on their way to Wabesca. Though plans for Fort Resolution were still in their preliminary stages, the need there was just as imperative:

The treaty has recently been made with the Indians [Fort Resolution] who are all Catholics. The school is not yet established but I ask that in principle a boarding school should be recognized at Great Slave Lake. While awaiting the construction

of the necessary buildings, I ask that the children of the Indians who have taken the treaty at Fort Resolution be received at our school at Fort Providence.

He ended his appeal by asking that the same educational grants provided the Indians be allowed Métis children whose parents were just as nomadic as the Indians. Unless boarding school grants were given the Metis, they would go without schooling, at least until such time as settlements were established: "...For remember we are not in the fertile plains of Alberta but at Lake Athabasca and at Great Slave Lake where cultivation is practically impossible."¹⁴¹

On the same day he wrote Laurier, Grouard sent a letter to Sifton explaining in detail the increases he expected in school appropriations for the following fiscal year (1901-1902). He prefaced his request by noting that his submission had already been discussed with MacRae earlier that year. He asked that boarding school grants be raised as follows: twenty additional children for Chipewyan and Lesser Slave Lake, fifteen additional children for Smoky River, and initial boarding school allowances of thirty children each at Fort Vermillion, Wabesca, and Great Slave Lake (Fort Resolution). As he did not expect that the school at Resolution would be ready for 1901-1902, he recommended that a grant for thirty children from that settlement be given to the school at Fort Providence.¹⁴²

M. Benson (an officer of the department) viewed Grouard's petition rather sceptically. Noting that "these schools are of great assistance in making converts" and that the missions were desirous of having "as many schools of this class as they can obtain assistance for," he cautioned the department to move slowly in the direction advocated by the bishop. Moreover, he had doubts about the value of

residential schools in the Athabasca region; the Indian child's boarding school experience often made him "totally unfit to earn his living in the surroundings in which he would be placed on leaving school." Before a decision was made, Benson hoped that the opinions of field officers be obtained.¹⁴³

Grouard's demands were reviewed by Inspector MacRae on his return from the North.¹⁴⁴ He had interviews with Grouard and Father Ladousalle (administrator of the Mackenzie-Athabasca Vicariate) in August and September. One of the most significant agreements of these discussions was a statement on what was to be the relationship between church and state in education:

It was agreed that the relationship between the Government and the Church should be one defined in express terms: the Church undertaking to assume all duties and responsibilities towards pupils in return for so much per caput.¹⁴⁵

Insofar as the bishop's request was concerned, it would mean an increase of \$10,440 over the previous year's appropriation, and the cost in several years time would be \$31,120 annually, if Grouard's plans were sanctioned. For the time being, MacRae recommended the annual grant be \$15,040; this would include an \$1,800 grant to Fort Providence and would be only \$1,420 below Grouard's original submission. As a guideline to this type of subsidy, MacRae suggested: "that the amount of aid given to any religious body for educational purposes should be proportionate to the amount of money, energy, and successful work which such body satisfactorily demonstrates its ability to devote to those purposes." Unless this was done and unless specific conditions between the churches and the government were agreed upon,

there was a real danger that school grants would become "more or less subventions for spiritual enterprises and the government a silent partner in proselytising."¹⁴⁶

Approximately a month after his report, MacRae had little difficulty in justifying his proposed expenditure for mission schools in Treaty No. 8, when asked to do so by J. McKenna (private secretary to the minister). He compared the cost of his submission, \$20,160 (\$15,140 to Catholic schools and \$4,320 to Anglican schools), an outlay of about \$5.30 per head in Treaty No. 8, to educational disbursements of \$11.31 and \$12.78 per head in Treaties No. 6 (central Saskatchewan and Alberta) and 7 (Blackfoot Treaty). As the obligation to educate under Treaty No. 8 was the same as promised in other treaties, he stated that it was clear that his estimate was within reasonable limits.¹⁴⁷

Despite MacRae's argument, the department continued to temporize ¹⁴⁸ on Grouard's request, although it was reminded of its "obligations" from time to time. Father A. Husson (the bishop's agent in Winnipeg) repeated Grouard's representations in March 1901, taking particular care to review the situation at Providence, where "seventy" boarders were assisted by an annual grant of two hundred dollars.¹⁴⁹ In July three Chipewyan chiefs at Fort Resolution submitted a petition to the minister in which they stated that the Indians had been "deceived" and "forgotten" insofar as the educational promises of the Treaty were concerned. As the Indians of Resolution "were all Catholics, without a single exception," they wanted a school staffed by sisters and their children "brought in the knowledge

of religion and taught how to read and write so that they may live Christian lives and thrive a little better in this world."¹⁵⁰

Grouard made note of this petition in a letter to Sifton in September; a school should be granted the Indians of Resolution "at least in principle." If the government did not provide per capita grants of a minimum of fifteen pupils each for the schools at Wabesca and Vermillion, Grouard warned:

I will go through the Catholic parishes of Canada and beg for the alms of the faithful, and of course I will make public the painful necessity which forces me to such a step.¹⁵¹

The department acted quickly; two weeks after receiving a favourable report on the schools at Wabesca and Vermillion from H.A. Conroy (inspector Treaty No. 8),¹⁵² it informed the bishop that his request had been provided for in the estimates.¹⁵³

This gain did not improve the mission school situation in the Mackenzie; the Resolution project was still unrealized, and Providence was left with a nominal subsidy. In fact the compensatory benefits the northern missions had received as a result of school grants in the southern part of the diocese¹⁵⁴ were removed with the creation of the Mackenzie Vicariate under Bishop Breynat in the spring of 1902.

When Breynat took possession of his vicariate in 1902, he had but one school, Fort Providence, under his jurisdiction. In his autobiography he noted that the government was "assez généreux pour nous donner une contribution annuelle de quatre cents dollars [sic] ...à nourrir et habiller les 40 enfants de l'école pensionnat..."¹⁵⁵

Initially his attention was devoted to the establishment of a residential school at Resolution. Here he was successful in obtaining

a per capita grant of seventy-two dollars for twenty-five pupils in time for the school's opening in 1903.¹⁵⁶ At Grouard's prompting, Breynat went to Ottawa in the spring of 1903 to make representations to Laurier for an increased grant to the Providence school: "Allez le voir. Vous en obtiendrez certainement quelque chose." In time the Prime Minister's "sympathie manifests" and "belles promesses" bore fruit;¹⁵⁷ in the 1906-1907 fiscal year the Providence school was allowed the same grant that had been given Resolution.¹⁵⁸

In 1910 Frank Oliver (minister of the Interior) toured the settlements along the Mackenzie River with Bishop Breynat on the mission boat, Saint-Marie. Before leaving his host at Arctic Red River, the minister told the bishop that he had been opposed to Indian residential schools, but that recent visits to such schools as the one at Dunbow, Alberta, together with his impressions of Resolution and Providence,¹⁵⁹ had changed his view. The matter of appropriate subsidies for these schools, nevertheless, remained a problem:

Seulement, le système actuel est loin de donner satisfaction. De tous les côtés, c'est une véritable course auprès du gouvernement en vue d'obtenir des subsides aussi élevés que possible. Ce sont les plus habiles, les plus osés et le plus tenaces qui emportent toujours les meilleurs morceaux...¹⁶⁰

In order that this and other inconsistencies be resolved, Oliver called a conference of those churches active in Indian education in November of the same year. At the meeting (Breynat was one of eight Catholic delegates) it was unanimously decided that contracts should be drawn up between the churches and the government that specified the responsibilities of the two parties. The next spring Breynat received contracts in which the department raised its residential pupil

allowances to \$125 a year. Both schools in Breynat's vicariate were given a special residential school grant status (Class A);¹⁶¹ a designation, according to Breynat, that was largely the result of Oliver's favorable impression of the previous year.¹⁶²

Shortly after receiving the increased residential grants, Breynat began to lay plans for mission hospitals at Forts Simpson and Smith. In addition, he contemplated the establishment of day schools at both centers. Having secured the support for the hospital projects of A. Bell and G. Card, the two resident Indian agents in the district, the bishop went to Ottawa to discuss his proposals with F. Pedley (deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs). Pedley promised patient grants, medical supplies, and some furnishings for the hospitals;¹⁶³ similar assurances of support for the day schools were soon forthcoming. Salary grants of \$500 as well as fuel and other allowances, were given to the Catholic day schools at Smith and Simpson from the time of their commencement in 1915 and 1918 respectively.¹⁶⁴

In addition to his representations for operating allowances, Breynat made at least one submission to the Department for capital grants before 1920. In November 1907, he asked the department to pay the costs of a heating installation at the Resolution school, basing his request on the fact that the mission school at Hobbema, Alberta, had received such an allowance.¹⁶⁵ Although his request was supported by two departmental officers, H. Conroy and D. Scott,¹⁶⁶ it was turned down.¹⁶⁷

In the first eighteen years of his episcopacy (1902-1920),

Breynat's only complaint in regard to the church-state accord in education concerned the amount of the government's contribution to mission schools; otherwise, he experienced no difficulty with the activities or objectives of the department.¹⁶⁸ The department, on the other hand, often justified the church-state entente in education because the costs of this relationship were reasonable. For example, H. M. Daly (deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs) wrote to Archbishop Langevin in October 1895 as follows:

We [the government] also know that denominations can conduct these institutions at a much cheaper rate than the government, and that is one of the reasons why the Government sought to relieve itself of the onus of conducting them.¹⁶⁹

In 1910 H. Conroy wrote in a similar vein; the mission schools (Providence and Resolution were within his inspectorate) were doing "good work" at "very small cost" to the government: "It would be difficult to see how a better or cheaper policy in regard to schools could be formulated than the one now in vogue."¹⁷⁰

The reports of government officials on the state of Catholic mission schools in the Mackenzie were invariably laudatory;¹⁷¹ whether or not their unreserved praise was an unconscious attempt to compensate for those deficiencies that could be traced to inadequate government support or supervision is a hypothetical question.

In 1906 D. Laird (Indian Commissioner, Regina) wrote that he had to accept returns from schools in the area of Treaty 8 "as they are ...we having no representative to criticize same."¹⁷² Ten years later Colonel F. White (commissioner of the residual territories), in reply to an inquiry, had virtually nothing to say about the curriculum or the purpose of district schools except that their clientele were

"not yet sufficiently advanced to use references or text books."¹⁷³

Despite the approbation accorded mission schooling, there was also, albeit paradoxically, concern expressed about its consequences. In 1913 H. Bury (an official in the Department of the Interior) found the "system of education" at Providence and Resolution commendable; at the same time, however, he had doubts about its practicality. If the Indians were "to be moulded into a prototype of ...present day ...civilization and take their place with every other Canadian citizen ...the present system might be carried on a little further." On the other hand, if Indians "were to be equipped with merely sufficient education to fear God, honor the King, and respect the laws of the country, the system was perhaps unnecessarily prolonged." Assuming that most northern Indians would continue to gain their livelihood by following the pursuits of their forefathers - hunting, fishing, and trapping-, Bury argued that the age-limit for graduation be lowered from fifteen to twelve and that the curriculum include substantial amounts of instruction in trapping and woodcraft. As it was, he concluded, the untutored youth was much better prepared for life in the wilderness than the graduate who, having been denied a practical education was apt to become a "loafer" and a "burden" on the state.¹⁷⁴ In 1920 F. H. Kitto visited the two Catholic residential schools in the district and found the children's progress to be remarkable: "...Too much praise cannot be given to those in authority, whose devotion to the cause is producing such worthy results." The native child did not appear to encounter any serious problems in adjusting to residential school life:

...Coming into the school at tender ages without being able to speak a word of English, they frequently surpass in a few years the average corresponding class of white children.

Although he saw the problem of pre-school adjustment somewhat differently than Bury, Kitto also believed that the graduates were ill-suited for the old way of life:

That the results of their schooling is frequently of a transient benefit only is no fault of the school but rather unfortunate circumstances which allows them to return to their mother tribes. Hence they are discouraged by their squalid surroundings and usually revert to their former low standard of living. Could they be provided with means of earning their livelihood under better conditions many would no doubt prove worthy citizens.¹⁷⁵

Ordinances of the Northwest Territories

A detailed analysis of educational law and practice in the Northwest Territories (1870 - 1905) is beyond the scope of this study. As has already been indicated the educational ordinances of the Northwest Territories, although applicable to the Mackenzie, were of little consequence to that region until the late 1930's. Nevertheless, as these same ordinances became the centre of controversy between the church and state when the first Catholic separate school was established at Yellowknife in 1951, their evolution will be traced. Prior to this event, they also provided authorization for the payment of special grants to mission schools.

The following topics relating to the school law of the territories will be examined: (1) Ordinances of 1874; (2) the School Ordinance of 1884; (3) the secularization process; (4) the educational ordinances of the Consolidation of 1905; and (5) territorial assistance to Catholic mission schools in the Mackenzie.

Ordinances of 1874. Two ordinances¹⁷⁶ were passed by the

North-West Council at Fort Garry in December 1874 that outlined the conditions under which children could be taken into orphanages or residences, conducted either by religious or secular organizations.¹⁷⁷ While the ordinances differed in context, their intent was similar; each child so entrusted was to be fed, clothed, and educated by the receiving agency; orphans, insofar as it was practical, were to be assigned to institutions of their denomination; and registers of children who were voluntarily entrusted or of orphans who were assigned by magistrates, were to be kept by such institutions, and particulars of all children were to be forwarded to the North-West Council each January.¹⁷⁸

As the ordinances were not approved by the federal government, it is not certain whether they became operative de facto in any part of the territories.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, it is doubtful if either ordinance would have been judged intra vires with respect to Indian children. As such the ordinances were to apply to the school at Providence, but there is no evidence that the school sent any returns, or had any of its orphans assigned to it by magistrates. If the legislation had included some financial compensation in its terms and had been consequently enforced, it would have been extremely beneficial to Catholic educational interests in the Mackenzie, at a time when the convent at Providence was in a precarious position; but neither eventuality was realized.

The School Ordinance of 1884. No attempt was made to establish a school system for the territories until 1883, when F. Oliver (elected member, Edmonton) introduced a bill for the organization of

"Public and Separate School Districts" in the North-West Council. After Oliver's bill received second reading, copies of it were distributed for the consideration of interested parties in the territories. Bishops Grandin and Taché feared that the bill, although apparently liberal in intent, would frustrate clerical control and surveillance of Catholic schools. At the next session of Council, July 1884, Judge C. B. Rouleau (ex-officio member) ably represented the bishops' misgivings, and was successful in obtaining the passage of a modified bill which partially secured "the triumph of Catholic principle in territorial education."¹⁸⁰ Although the Ordinance had little immediate significance, its provisions, especially those in regard to the establishment of a Catholic section of the Board of Education (twelve members, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council), represented an important achievement insofar as Catholic educational interests were concerned. The Roman Catholic section, composed of six members, had extensive powers: it was responsible for the control and management of all public and separate schools of its denomination; it had power to examine and licence teachers; it was to choose all school materials, subject to the approval of a competent religious authority whenever such materials had religious or moral connotations; and it could appoint school inspectors.¹⁸¹ The Ordinance also permitted the union of school districts and the inclusion of ratepayers from outside a district's boundaries.¹⁸² Those sections that regulated times for religious exercises and instruction were somewhat inconvenient.¹⁸³ However, a more serious difficulty was whether or not Catholics would be sufficiently motivated to agitate

for schools of their denomination, especially when much of the financial support would have to be provided by lower income French and Métis groups. Notwithstanding such difficulties, the Ordinance evoked no adverse comment by Catholic authorities.¹⁸⁴

The Secularization Process. In the years following its passage, the School Ordinance of 1884 was gradually "secularized."¹⁸⁵ This process, which Bishop Grandin saw as the determined strategy of the non-Catholic majority in the territorial government to abolish the dual system of schools,¹⁸⁶ began almost immediately. The year 1885 marked revisions in the composition of the Board of Education; the following year brought restrictions concerning the erection of separate school districts. Only the efforts of a militant Catholic lobby warded off further amendments by the government at Regina in 1887. It was becoming increasingly apparent that most of the elected members were impatient with the dual system. In 1889 the Legislative Assembly (successor to the Council) petitioned the federal government to repeal the separate school and dual language provisions of the Northwest Territories Act. The federal authorities refused to delete the section referring to separate schools; however, they subsequently allowed a series of territorial school amendments, particularly those of 1892, and the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction (the political successor to the clerical Board of Education) to stand;¹⁸⁷ these changes effectively "administered" most of the separation, or clerical control, out of the territorial school system. Catholic grievances on such matters as textbooks, school inspectors, teaching certificates, normal schools, and the use of French received

an unsympathetic hearing from the Standing School Committee of the Assembly in 1894.¹⁸⁸ The defeat of the Conservative administration in the federal election of 1896 over the Manitoba school question was another setback for sectarian schools in the territories. Had the Conservatives been sustained, they might have been encouraged to play a more active role in school affairs in the North-West.¹⁸⁹ Despite these reversals, church pressure continued; however, representations for greater control over the administration and curriculum of Catholic schools met with little success.¹⁹⁰ The separate school provision was retained in the last major revision of the territorial School Ordinance in 1901. Chapters 29 to 31¹⁹¹ were bequeathed to the residual territories in 1905,¹⁹² when the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were granted autonomy. These chapters were to be the basis of a publicly-supported school system in the Mackenzie, whenever municipal institutions were established: "The rights and privileges, which the separate schools of the North West Territories enjoyed in 1905, then, were those set down in the Ordinance of 1901."¹⁹³

The Educational Ordinances of the Consolidation of 1905. The School Ordinance, the School Assessment Ordinance, and the School Grants Ordinance as set forth in the Consolidation of 1905¹⁹⁴ provided the basis for the organization of separate and public schools in the Mackenzie. Although Bishops Faraud and Grouard carefully watched the evolution of the territorial school system, giving moral assistance to their confrères, Grandin and Taché, whenever possible,¹⁹⁵ the deliberations of the Regina Assembly in no way hindered the operation of the school at Fort Providence. Breynat's episcopacy

was similarly unaffected by these ordinances; the grants-in-aid provided by the Departments of the Interior and Indian Affairs, together with the absence of municipal institutions (a preliminary requirement for the operation of the ordinances), postponed debate on the appropriateness of the inherited school law. Except for one provision of the School Grants Ordinance,¹⁹⁶ the ordinances in no way influenced education in the Mackenzie until the establishment of the first public school district at Yellowknife in October 1939.¹⁹⁷ Nonetheless after 1905 an environment existed similar to that in the territories of the early 1870's, in which Catholic authorities (representing the majority of the population) could challenge the validity of the 1901 ordinances and expect redress from the federal government, which was traditionally susceptible to ecclesiastical pressure in educational matters. It was to be expected, therefore, that a question regarding the ordinances would be raised at an appropriate time. Did not certain sections of the 1905 ordinances violate section ten of the Northwest Territories Act of 1906¹⁹⁸ in terms of curriculum, teacher training, school districts, religious instruction, school administration, the language of instruction, and the apportionment of corporation taxes? With the establishment of the first Roman Catholic separate school at Yellowknife in 1951,¹⁹⁹ the matter would be carefully scrutinized by Catholic authorities in the Mackenzie.

Territorial Assistance to Catholic Mission Schools in the Mackenzie. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories paid a grant of four hundred dollars to Bishop Taché²⁰⁰ for the school at Providence in 1890; each year thereafter the school was entitled to

a similar allowance provided it forwarded returns, recording a minimum average daily attendance of ten,²⁰¹ in time for the annual appropriation.²⁰² In 1896 C. H. Mackintosh (lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Territories) reported that he wished to insure that Providence and other schools "in those portions of the territories not represented in the Territorial Assembly" received the grants to which they were entitled. Upon receipt of reports from these schools, the lieutenant-governor's office would issue quarterly grants of one hundred dollars.²⁰³ Two years later the practice of "paying special grants to any school, whether organized according to law or not, out of the general revenue fund" was given statutory authority by an amendment to the School Ordinance.²⁰⁴ In 1899 the allowance to day schools was reduced to two hundred dollars per annum, but schools of either type, day or residential, were permitted to receive subsidies from the territorial government and the Department of Indian Affairs.²⁰⁵ In October 1905 A. Bourget (secretary to Forget) submitted returns from schools outside the new provinces to W. Cory (deputy minister of the Interior). The lieutenant-governor "assumed" that Ottawa would continue to pay these grants.²⁰⁶ Acting on the authority of section six of the School Grants Ordinance²⁰⁷ and upon instructions from the Department of the Interior²⁰⁸ Colonel F. White (commissioner of the residual territories) continued school payments according to the grant schedule determined by the Lieutenant-Governor of the 'old' Northwest Territories. White, however, became apprehensive about continuing these allowances following a meeting with Frank Oliver (minister of the Interior) in May 1907. The minister "decidedly" objected to "mission schools," but was disposed to consider payments to any school in the

residual territories, "...provided the school is a public one under proper local control, with trustees and others who give full information respecting attendance, subjects taught, etc., etc."²⁰⁹

In October of the same year, White wrote Oliver regarding the supervision of and payments to mission schools, asking the minister to outline a school policy.²¹⁰ There is no indication that the commissioner received any instruction, with the result that school payments continued according to the grant schedule determined by the lieutenant-governor of the 'old' Northwest Territories.

The Catholic mission school at Fort Resolution had received grants in 1892 and 1901 when the resident missionary submitted returns.²¹¹ The establishment of a regular school at the Fort by the Grey Nuns in 1903, brought annual grants of two hundred dollars until 1910, when the school received the same annual allowance as that accorded Providence (four hundred dollars).²¹² The Catholic school at Fort Smith was in receipt of a two hundred dollar grant from the last quarter of 1916.²¹³ The mission school at Fort Simpson, however, did not receive a territorial allowance until July 1, 1926.²¹⁴ By 1920 seven schools in the Mackenzie, three Catholic and four Anglican, were receiving grants-in-aid from the government of the Northwest Territories.²¹⁵ These allowances were issued on receipt of a teacher's report certified "by a resident or visiting minister."²¹⁶ There is no evidence that the schools had to meet any other requirements, such as attendance (grants were paid to schools that had a minimum quarterly attendance of four),²¹⁷ the qualifications of the teacher, textbooks and curriculum, the language

of instruction, or the length of the school day. As long as the school was in operation for a quarter, it qualified for the standard subsidy. The schools were not subject to any form of supervision or inspection, nor were they encouraged to increase their enrollments, or to foster more ambitious programmes. Whatever the rationale for these grants had been in 1890 was no longer apparent by 1920; by this time the allowances appeared to be little more than perfunctory donations. Certainly the amount of the grants was in no way related to the type of school, its enrollment, or its location.

Part I Summary

During the initial period of white-native contact which ended following the Norman oil discovery of 1920, neither the federal nor the territorial government, having delegated their responsibilities to church-company agents, demonstrated much interest in the area; in fact the state's characteristic response to petitions on the natives' behalf convinced the district's few Euro-Canadians that government preferred to leave matters as they were. Thus, the pitiable condition of those aborigines who attempted to live for part, if not most, of the year at the forts prompted renewed efforts by traders and missionaries to have them return to the wilderness. As a result a native-wilderness equation was becoming a long term means of resolving a worsening situation. At the same time the church saw another advantage in this assignment, as it kept its adherents away from materialism and Protestantism which many missionaries found prevailing in the forts.

Although the goals of Catholic proselytism had been thwarted in

the Mackenzie delta by Anglican manoeuvres, the Oblates, having won the allegiance of most Dénés, set out with renewed zeal, after hearing of the success at Dease Arm, to win the Eskimo.

From the Providence foundation onward, Catholic mission schools were seen as adjuncts to proselytism; in time, they became part of a general system of Indian schooling, eligible for whatever benefits the Christian churches could elicit from the federal government which, when confronted by a host of denominational pressures, yielded quite easily. In like manner mission schools obtained territorial grants, and while these were no more than token subsidies, their continued payment by the residual territorial administration left open opportunities for improvement. Although the inheritance of territorial school legislation with its narrow approach to sectarianism did not augur well, the inapplicability of most of its terms together with the territorial government's encouraging attitude to the mission system seemed to satisfy Breynat who was left alone to manage his schools as he saw fit.

Both church and state believed that for the time being at least, the only opportunities for native people existed in the trapping-hunting mode of life and that therefore schooling should be directed towards this end. Of the two parties, the church, in its attempt to improve the form as well as to increase the number of schooling places, seemed more uneasy about the exclusiveness of the native's life chances; however, until such time as alternative economic opportunities arose, or the government promoted improved programmes, the church had little choice but to make the best of the existing system.

Mission schools were viewed as agencies where the native child-restored and rehabilitated by a process which included a rejection of his aboriginal ways - was transformed, if possible, into a devout and obedient pupil; a process, needless to say, which often made him ill-suited to return to camp life. In that mission schools were subsidized by the state, the school's transformation process vis à vis the wilderness system meant that both agencies were party to a basic, but perhaps unavoidable inconsistency. However, as long as both parties continued to uphold the native-wilderness equation, it was unlikely that either would move to break a schooling entente which, notwithstanding its problems, proved to be of mutual benefit.

1. Taché, 111.
2. Madame Marie d'Youville founded the Sisters of Charity of Montreal in Montreal on December 31, 1737. The sisterhood received canonical approbation on June 15, 1755, and papal approval in 1880. In the eastern provinces the Grey Nuns were noted for their work in the hospitals; they did not undertake the operation of schools until their arrival in the Canadian West. In 1844 four Grey Nuns left Montreal for the mission at St. Boniface and opened a school at the Red River settlement in July of the same year. Their second foundation in the west was at Lac Ste. Anne in 1859 (moved to St. Albert in 1863); others followed at Ile-à-la-Crosse (1860) and Lac La Biche (1862). P. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns in the Far North (1867 - 1917) (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 7-63. Cited hereinafter as Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns.
3. Grandin to Deschamps, May 3, 1862, in Providence Historique (Archives Srs. Grises de Montreal, Maison-Mère, Montréal, Québec), doc. ii. Cited hereinafter as SGM. A complaint that the Oblates were also purchasing souls is levelled in F. A. Peake's, The Bishop [Stringer] Who Ate His Boots (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1966), 20.
4. Grouard, 68. Grouard had serious doubts about the wisdom of the Providence foundation because of the problem of providing sufficient rations for the mission. He praised the work of the sisters, but noted that if the establishment depended on him it would not have been undertaken for some time. Ibid., 112.
5. Notice Biographie sur Mgr. H. Faraud, Vicaire Apostolique d'Athabaska-Mackenzie, Divine Providence Historique, SGM, doc. i, 3. Cited hereinafter as Faraud Biographie. The Grey Nuns decided to accept the northern mission on March 23, 1865. They saw their task as follows:

Le but d'y prendre soin l'education des enfants sauvages, des pauvres et des malades, et de vaquer aux oeuvres pieuses...et que la religion Catholique dans ce pays barbares pourrait en tirer un très grande avantages, Deliberations de l'Hôpital du Sacré Coeur, Providence, SGM, v.1 .

For an account of Mother Slocombe's attitude to the northern missions, vide Sister E. Mitchell's, Mère Jane Slocombe (Montreal: Fides, 1964), 290.
6. Faraud to Slocombe, June 30, 1865, Providence, SGM, vii, 3, 6.

7. Slocombe to Faraud, April 10, 1866, Providence, SGM, x, 1.
8. Faraud Biographie, 11.
9. The Mother House had been promised that the sisters would receive "food and clothing"; however, the Oblates found it difficult to fulfill either of these conditions. Faraud Biographie, 14.
10. "Nous avons eu quelque peine à nous accoutumer à la nourriture grossière et toujours la même que nous avons ici. Depuis notre arrivée nous n'avons plus goûté au pain." Lapointe pointed out that Faraud could do no more for them "sans nuire à l'oeuvre générale des missions." Sr. Lapointe (Superior, Ft. Providence) to Mme C. Symes, (Benefactress of the Grey Nuns), June 8, 1868, Providence, SGM, xxvii, 11-12.
11. Slocombe to Faraud, April 28, 1868, Providence SGM, xxvi, 2.
12. Clut to Deschamps, May 23, 1877, Providence SGM, ix.
13. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns, 132-133.
14. Faraud to Deschamps, March 30, 1880, Providence SGM, lxxxiii, 2-3.
15. The revolution of 1848 in France almost stopped Catholic missionary activity in the Northwest:

Leur Superieur leur [Taché and Faraud] annonçait que la revolution de France avait l'oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi; qu'en consequence de cette reduction, on ne pourrait plus soutenir les missions lointaines du diocese....Taché, 30.

Similar conditions existed after the fall of the Second Empire in 1870 when the assistance of the Propagation of the Faith was again curtailed. Vide Grouard, 142. By 1880 the fall of the Papal States and the activities of the Republican government were having an effect on the northern missions:

Les affaires d'Europe et de France surtout vont de mal en pire, les communautés religieuses sont expulsées les recettes de la Propagation de la Foi vont diminuant, les dons particuliers se restreignent. Clut to Deschamps, December 26, 1880, Providence, SGM, xcvi, 1.

16. Clut to Deschamps, August 17, 1879, Providence SGM, lxxvi, 1-2.

17. Clut to Deschamps, December 26, 1880, Providence, SGM, xcvi, 1.
18. Taché to Deschamps, September 28, 1881, Providence, SGM, cxiv, 1.
19. Same to same, November 30, 1881, Providence SGM, cxvi, 3.
20. Faraud to Deschamps, May 19, 1881, Providence, SGM, cii, 3.
21. J. Camsell (Chief Factor, Ft. Simpson) to Deschamps, February 15, 1882, Providence, SGM, cxvii, 2. Camsell learned of Deschamps' decision on February 21, 1882 while at Fort Chipewyan. Ibid.
22. "Elles [the sisters] ont 12 orphelins dont 6 garçons et 6 filles. Les orphelins sont parfaitement bien soignés, ils font bonneur à leurs mères adoptives. Ils pourront être, les garçons surtout d'une grand utilité pour nos missions." Clut to Slocombe, February 25, 1870, Providence, SGM, xxxix, 3.
23. "Nous avons actuellement 28 enfants, 18 filles et 10 garçons. L'arrivée prochaine des gerge nos [en] amenera plusieurs autres. Nous en avons de l'âge de 18 ans jusqu'a 4, et de toutes les tribus Metisses, Canadiennes, Crises, Loucheuses, Couteau-jaunes, Plats-Côtés-de-chiens, Peaux-de-lievres, Esclaves, Montagnais, Sauteaux, Gens de la Montagne...." Sr. Ward, (Fort Providence) to Deschamps, June 25, 1878, Providence, SGM, cxv, 3.
24. Clut to Mother Dupuis (superior general), May 23, 1877, Providence SGM, cvi, 3.
25. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns, 125.
26. Ward to Mother Slocombe, June 1, 1871, Providence, SGM, xlv, 5.
27. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns, 125
28. S. Lesage, (superior Sacred Heart Mission, Fort Simpson), The Catholic Voice, (March, 1955). Lesage's figures are based on the first twenty-five years of operation (1867-1892): It is interesting to note that 43 girls and 26 boys (of a total of 268 admitted during the twenty-five year period) stayed only one year at school, while 16 girls and 5 boys stayed 10 years. Ibid.
29. Lapointe to Symes, June 8, 1868, Providence, SGM, xxvii, 11.

30. A. Lecorre et al. (The letter was signed by three priests and five Oblate brothers) to Faraud, June 28, 1881, Providence, SGM, cix, 2-3.

The first Anglican school in the Mackenzie was opened in 1865 at Fort Norman with the aid of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was closed in 1868, and reopened from time to time after that date. The Anglicans also opened schools at Fort Simpson (W. D. Reeve) and Fort McPherson (R. MacDonald) but neither institution became permanent until near the end of the nineteenth century. Cody 57-58.

31. Lapointe to Symes, ibid., 11.
32. W. Christie quoted in A. Begg's The History of the Northwest, 3 vols. (Toronto: Hunter Rose and Co., 1894), II, 233.
33. Treaty No. 8. For a discussion of the degree of assistance and the forms of government legislation with respect to Indian mission schools, vide infra, 68-89.
34. Grouard to Mother General, September 26, 1900, Chipewyan, SGM, cvi, 1.
35. For a discussion of the implications of Treaty No. 8 on mission schools in the Mackenzie-Athabasca Vicariate, vide infra, 81-92.
36. Breynat to Mother General, February 19, 1902, Resolution Historique, SGM, iii, 1-3. For earlier correspondence on the Resolution foundation, vide Grouard to Mother General February 18, 1901, Resolution, SGM, iia, 1-2. Breynat had received an affirmative reply from the Grey Nuns concerning the establishment of a community at Resolution by November 1902. R.A. McQuillan (one of the founders of the school), Récit de la Fondation de Fort Résolution, Resolution, SGM, ii, 4. Cited hereinafter as McQuillan.
37. McQuillan, 4-5.
38. Chronique de Résolution, July 25, 1903, SGM, I, 9.
39. ARDIA, 1910, 362-363.
40. Kitto, 3.
41. Four children died at Providence in 1908, ARDIA, 1909, 310; one child died at Resolution in 1910, ARDIA, 1910, 314; two children died at Providence in 1917, La Voix Amie, (Janvier, 1918), Providence, SGM, clvii; five children died

at Providence in 1919, *La Voix Amie* (Décembre, 1919), Providence, SGM, clxvi.

42. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns, 128.
43. Source of information: ARDIA, 1901-1920, passim.
44. Vide La Voix Amie (Janvier, 1918), (Décembre 1919) (Décembre 1922), Providence, SGM. The problem of the language of instruction was made difficult in that of eighty-three sisters who worked in the Mackenzie from 1867-1919, only five had English as their first language. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns, 277.
45. Breynat to Mother General Piché September 24, 1912, Divine Providence, SGM, v, 1-2. Breynat wanted to move the patients at the small infirmary at Providence, most of whom were old and infirm, to the proposed hospital at Simpson. Ibid., 3.
46. Breynat II, 240. Lucas' attitude was reported by G. Card (Indian agent, Fort Simpson), in a letter to Breynat, December 12, 1913. Ibid., 240 .
47. Breynat to Piché, January 14, 1913, Smith Historique, SGM, iii, 1.
48. Vide Sr. Leveillé Provincial, Divine Providence, Fort Smith to Piché, November 24, 1915, Smith, SGM, vi, 1-2; Sr. Latrémouille to Piché, July 26, 1916, Simpson, SGM, iv, 1-4; Sr. Grouard to Mother St. Jean Baptiste, September 15, 1918, Simpson, SGM, xv, 3-4.
49. Première Epoque 1914 a 1920 (Fort Smith), Smith Historique, SGM, ii, 1-4. Cited hereinafter as Première Epoque (Fort Smith).
50. Chronique de Fort Simpson, SGM, I, 1-2.
51. Breynat II, 193-195.
52. Breynat to Piché, January 14, 1913.
53. G. Breynat, Memorandum on Schools, 1927, Breynat Papers, AVM, 2.
54. Léveillé to Piché, November 24, 1915, Smith SGM, vi, 1-2.
55. Same to Same, August 3, 1918, Simpson, SGM, xivc, 2.
56. Première Epoque (Fort Smith), 5. For a view of the school by one of the inhabitants of the community, vide I. Mercredi to Piché, (1917?), Smith, SGM, xv, 1-5.

57. McGuirk to Piché, January 10, 1920, Simpson, SGM, xxxii, 1-2.
58. Great Britain Statutes, 30-31 Vict., c.3, s.93 (1867).
59. Ibid., 34-35 Vict., c.28, s.4 (1871).
60. Ibid., 30-31 Vict., c.3, s.91, h.24 (1867).
61. Ibid., 30-31 Vict., c.3, s.93, [1-4] (1867). Two sub-sections of the section, one and three, limited provincial power in respect to educational legislation.

(1) Nothing in any such law [Provincial] shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational schools which any class of Persons have by law in the Province at the Union:

(3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by law at the Union is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education. Ibid.

62. For a discussion of the background and intent of section 93 of British North America Act (1867), vide. G. M Weir, The Separate School Question in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1934), 1-12, 22-34; C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education; a Historical Study (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), 55-56; and C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company, 1957), 316-317.
63. Great Britain Statutes, 34-35 Vict., c.28, s. 4 (1871).
64. Ibid., 3-31 Vict., c 3, s.91 (1867).
65. Commons Debates, 1875, 653-659; Senate Debates, 1875, 771-772. For a discussion of the debate on the school clause and the reaction of Bishops Taché and Grandin to its inclusion in the Northwest Territories Act, vide M. R. Lupul, "Relations in Education Between the State and the Roman Catholic Church in the Canadian North-West with Special Reference to the Provisional District of Alberta from 1880 to 1905" 2 vols. (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1963), I, 6-67, 69-70.
66. Statutes of Canada, 38 Vict., c.49, s.11 (1875).
67. Ibid., 4-5 Edw. VII, c.27 (1905). The section had been

amended on two previous occasions, but denominational guarantees had not been modified. Ibid., 48-49 Vict., c.51, s.2 (1885) and 49 Vict., c.50, s.14 (1886).

68. For a discussion of opposition to the school clause in the federal parliament in 1890 and 1905, vide Lupul, I, 289-292 II, 722-873.
69. Commons Debates, 1905, 8764.
70. Senate Debates, 1905, 715.
71. Revised Statutes of Canada, 5 Edw. VII, c.62, s.10 (1906).
72. Statutes of Canada, 4-5 Edw. VII, c.27, s.6 (1905).
73. Revised Statutes of Canada, 5 Edw. VII, c.62, s.10 (1906).
74. Order in Council, Canada Gazette, July 18, 1946.
75. For a discussion of the Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District, vide infra, 511.
76. Statutes of Canada 39 Vict., c.18 (1876).
77. Ibid., 31 Vict., c.42, s.11 (1868).
78. Ibid., 32-33 Vict., c.6, s.1216 (1869)
79. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, The Canadian Indian (Ottawa: 1963), 4.
80. Treaty No. 7 in L. G. P. Waller, ed. The Education of Indian Children in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), 117.
81. R. F. Davey, "The Establishment and Growth of Indian School Administration," The Education of Indian Children in Canada, L. G. P. Waller, ed. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), 4.
82. Senate Debates, 1880, 156.
83. Ibid., 200; Vide also Statutes of Canada, 43 Vict., c.28, s.74 (1) (1880).
84. Ibid., 57-58 Vict., c.32, s.137-138 (1894).
85. Order in Council, November 10, 1894, Ibid., 58-59 Vict., n.14, lvii (1895).
86. Statutes of Canada, 58-59 Vict., c.35 (1895); 61 Vict., c.34 (1898); 6 Edw., c.20, (1906); 9-10 Edw., c.28 (1910); 4-5 Geo., c.35 (1914); 8-9 Geo., c.26 (1918).

87. Ibid., 10-11 Geo. V, c.50, s.1 (1920).
88. Ibid., s.10.
89. According to figures cited by P. H. Bryce (chief medical officer, Department of Indian Affairs) the total amount granted to "undenominational Schools" in the Northwest Territories from 1877 to 1906 was \$600.00. P. H. Bryce, Report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1907), 8-9.
90. For a discussion of parliament's reaction to denominational schools in the Northwest Territories, vide supra 65 and 69. The Manitoba school question is discussed from several viewpoints in the following sources: W. L. Morton, Manitoba - a History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 241-250; D. Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Tache, 2 vols. (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1904), II, 779-828; Weir, 35-50; and L. Clark, ed., The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights (Toronto: Copp Clark Company, 1968).
91. Commons Debates. 1894, 5553.
92. F. Stacey (Unionist, Westminster District), quoting remarks made by D. Scott (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs). Ibid., 1920, 4027.
93. R. M. Connelly, J. W. Chalmers, and C. A. F. Clark, "Missionaries and Indian Education," The Education of Indian Children in Canada, Waller, ed., 21.
94. Bishop Grandin (St. Albert) wrote to E. A. Meredith [deputy minister of the Interior] on May 7, 1877 noting he had received one grant of \$300 for the school at St. Albert. He requested similar aid for four other Indian Schools in his diocese: St. Anne, Lac La Biche, St. Laurent, and Isle-à-la-Crosse. Grandin to Meredith (trans.), Record Group 10 IIIB PAC (Indian Affairs Black Series), vol. 280. Cited hereinafter as IABS, vol. 280. Grandin's petitions were supported by Lieutenant Governor D. Laird and by a resolution passed at a public meeting in Edmonton in 1880. Vide Laird to H. Langevin (minister of Public Works), Feb. 7, 1880, Record Group 10, A-1 PAC (Interior Department Northwest Territories Branch), vol. 4, and Memorandum to the Minister of the Interior from Citizens of Edmonton in Support of Indian Orphanages at Lac La Biche, Isle-à-la Crosse, and St. Albert, January 13, 1880, Ibid. By 1881 the St. Albert and Isle-à-la Crosse Indian schools were in receipt of \$300 grants from the Department of Indian Affairs. ARDIA, 1881. 214-215.
96. Connelly, Chalmers, and Clark, "Missionaries and Indian Education," 17.

97. ARDIA, 1894, 264-265. By 1885 there were forty-four government-aided Indian day schools in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. Two years later five mission boarding schools were in receipt of grants. Two Roman Catholic and one Anglican industrial school had been established by 1884 as a result of a Department report by N. F. Davin in 1879. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Indians of the Prairie Provinces (Ottawa: 1960) 18-19. Cited hereinafter as Indians of the Prairie Provinces. The industrial schools were similar to the mission boarding schools. Unlike the latter institutions which were partially sustained by church funds, however, the industrial schools received full operating allowances until 1892 when the government "with a view to more economical management" placed the industrial schools on per capita grant system as well. Order in Council, Oct. 27, 1892, Statutes of Canada, 56 Vict. This order in council governed Indian residential school financing until 1957. Indians of the Prairie Provinces, 19.
98. Bryce, 8-9. These amounts also include payments to Catholic mission schools in Manitoba.
99. ARDIA, 1881, 214; 1894, 264-269; 1906, 60-61.
100. J. A. MacDonald to Grandin, Dec. 9, 1886. Cited in Grandin's pastoral letter, Sept. 14, 1890, Grandin Papers, SGM, xix, 7-8. Cited hereinafter as Grandin's pastoral, Sept. 14, 1890.
101. J. A. Mitchell (Indian agent) to H. Reed, November 6, 1889, IABS, vol. 280.
102. L. Vankoughnet to Reed, Sept. 25, 1889, ibid.
103. L. Vankoughnet to W. Dewdney, Oct. 17, 1889, ibid.
104. W. McGirr to Grandin, Oct. 18, 1889, ibid.
105. Grandin to Reed, Dec. 18, 1889, ibid.
106. W. A. Austin (Indian agent) to Reed, Jan. 16, 1890, ibid.
107. Grandin's pastoral, Sept. 14, 1890.
108. L. Dewdney to Grandin, Sept. 5, 1890, Grandin's pastoral, Sept. 14, 1890.
109. ARDIA, 1892, 218. Reed issued a circular to missionaries in the territories in 1877 suggesting that no minority day school would be assisted by the department "by grant or otherwise" unless it had an average daily attendance of

eight pupils. Reed - circular to Various Religions Interested in Indian Education in the N.W.T., Dec. 3, 1887, IABS, vol. 280. S. Grivett (MacLeod, Alberta) found Reed's proposition "useless...another denomination only needs tea, biscuits, and tobacco and they will have an average daily attendance of 8" (Grivett to Reed, Dec. 28, 1887, ibid.). Taché, on the other hand, found the requirement reasonable. Taché to Reed, Dec. 26, 1887, ibid.

110. Grandin's pastoral, Sept. 14, 1890.
111. H. Reed, School Branch Letterbook, March 21, 1896 - August 6, 1896; August 6, 1896 - January 27, 1897, R. G. 10, PAC (Indian Affairs) vol. 1726, 1727. Cited hereinafter as SBL.
112. Reed to Indian Commissioner D. Laird, Regina, April 23, 1896, SBL vol. 1726; vide also Reed to E. McColl (inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg) May 28, 1896, and same to same, May 6, 1896, and Reed to Bishop of Saskatchewan and Calgary, May 5, 1896, ibid.
113. Reed to Indian Commissioner Regina, April 10, 1896, ibid.
114. Vide ibid., passim, vol. 1726-1727.
115. Vide Reed to McColl, March 30, 1896 and Reed to J. Gass (Indian agent), May 20, 1896, SBL, vol. 1726.
116. Reed to Indian Commissioner, Regina, March 24, 1896, ibid.
117. Vide ibid., passim, vol. 1726-1727.
118. Faraud to Meredith, (trans.), March 12, 1877, IABS, vol. 280.
119. Clut to Reed (trans.), July 13, 1890 IABS, vol. 398.
120. Vide Grouard to Forget (trans.), December 16, 1895, and Grouard to Reed (trans.), December 5, 1895, ibid.
121. Reed to Forget, January 10, 1896, ibid.
122. Clut to Deputy Minister (trans.), August 24, 1896, Clut to Reed, September 9, 1896, ibid.
123. A. E. Forget (extract of a report to Department of Indian Affairs), August 20, 1896, ibid. A request for a one-thousand dollar grant (fifty dollars per capita to a maximum of twenty pupils) for the Catholic school at Lesser Slave Lake was included in the supplementary estimates of 1896-1897, but was disallowed. Reed to Indian Commissioner (Regina), October 28, 1896, SBL, 1727.

124. Clut to Superintendent General Sifton, January 11, 1897, IABS, vol. 398.
125. Vide Forget to Secretary, Indian Affairs (J. McLean), May 18, 1898; Forget to Reed, Oct. 16, 1898, ibid.
126. Vide J. McLean to Forget, June 2, 1898; D. Laird to McLean, May 13, 1899, ibid.
127. For a discussion of the government's main reason for concluding this treaty, vide supra, 32 .
128. Treaty No. 8, passim.
129. Ibid., 11.
130. "Education in Treaty No. 8," J. P. MacRae to Superintendent General Sifton, December 7, 1900, IABS, vol. 398, 2-3. C. Mair (English secretary of the Half-Breed Commission) travelled with the main treaty party throughout Athabasca. This view of the state of Catholic establishments is similar to MacRae's:

Indeed, with the exception of primitive outlying stations, all the principal Roman Catholic Missions, by their extent and completeness, put our own more meagerly endowed establishments into rather painful contrast, Mair, 87.

131. Extracts from the Codex Historicus, La Mission de La Nativité, Chipewyan, I, 56-58, Breynat Papers, AVM.
132. ARDIA, 1899, xxxvi.
133. Grouard, 358. Grouard reported that Commissioner D. Laird told the Indians at the treaty meeting at Lesser Slave Lake: "...Le gouvernement vous donnera des maîtres d'école de la religion à laquelle vous appartenez" (Ibid., 369). When the Indians heard this they all pointed to the Oblate priest Falher and said "...C'est toi que nous choisissons pour notre maître." Ibid. The Lesser Slave Lake meeting was most encouraging to Grouard:

Cette manifestation naïve et spontanée de leur attachement à foi catholique couvre de confusion les révérends [Anglicans], car à la face des représentants du gouvernement, devant la foule assemblée, réunion la plus imposante...la voix du peuple a déclaré que la prêtre catholique est son guide et son pasteur. Ibid., 370.

134. Grouard to Sifton, August 29, 1899, IABS, vol. 398. The Providence convent was not included in his petition, he

specifically asked for assistance for the following schools at the following locations: Lesser Slave Lake, Smoky River, Vermillion, Chipewyan, and Lake Wabesca. Ibid.

135. Sifton to Grouard, September 10, 1899, ibid.
136. These allowances were noted in a letter from Grouard to Sifton, October 1, 1900, ibid. Laird visited these schools in the fall of 1900 and noted that they had been placed on a per capita grant basis. ARDIA, 1900, 225-226.
137. For a discussion of the Anglican school at Hay River vide supra, 52. The usual per capita allowance to a maximum of twenty pupils, was provided the Anglican school at Hay River in the 1902-1903 estimates. ARDIA, 1903, 241.
138. Lecorre to Mother General, September 26, 1899, Providence, SGM, cxliv, 3.
139. Grouard to Mother General, September 1, 1899, Chipewyan Historique, SGM, ciii, 1.
140. Grouard to Mother General, September 26, 1900, Chipewyan SGM, cvi, 1.
141. Grouard to Laurier (trans.), October 1, 1900 IABS, vol. 398. Laurier passed Grouard's letter to Sifton on November 14, 1900, ibid.
142. Grouard to Sifton, October 1, 1900, IABS, vol. 398.
143. M. Benson to Secretary, Indian Affairs J. M. McLean, November 29, 1900, ibid. The Deputy Minister held Benson's report; it was viewed by MacRae before he submitted his proposal to the minister, ibid.
144. MacRae to Sifton, December 7, 1900, ibid.
145. J. MacRae "Notes of Interview Between Father Ladousalle and J. MacRae," August 5, 1900, ibid.; J. MacRae "Notes of Interview Between Bishop Grouard and J. MacRae," September 10, 1900, ibid.
146. MacRae to Sifton, December 7, 1900, ibid.
147. MacRae to McKenna, January 5, 1901, ibid.
148. D. C. Scott (chief accountant) wrote MacLean in December to inquire about the increase in grants. MacLean replied that such matters were "up to the Minister." Scott to MacLean, December 21, 1900, ibid. There is no record of any further discussion on the bishop's request until Grouard's letter of September 24, 1901, vide infra, n. 151.

149. Husson to Sifton, March 5, 1901, ibid. Benson wrote to MacLean on Husson's request for a grant for Providence as follows: "I must say the Department has no record of any boarder's been [sic] kept there." Benson to MacLean, March ?, 1901, ibid.
150. Petition to the Minister of the Interior from Camoelle, Ennun, and Tiaikees (Fort Resolution), July 16, 1901, ibid.
151. Grouard to Sifton, September 24, 1901, ibid.
152. Conroy to Secretary MacLean, November 11, 1901, ibid.
153. MacLean to Grouard, November 27, 1901, ibid.
154. For Grouard's view of this relationship, vide supra, 83.
155. Breynat, II, 19. Breynat's recollection is incorrect. The vicariate was in receipt of a \$200.00 grant from the Department of Indian Affairs and \$400.00 from the Government of the Northwest Territories. (Vide Table II, 78). For a discussion of the contribution of the Government of the Northwest Territories to Catholic mission schools in the Mackenzie, vide infra, 97.
156. ARDIA, 1905,
157. Breynat, II, 73.
158. ARDIA, 1907, 56-57. A year later the Providence grant was raised from twenty-five to forty pupils at seventy-two dollars per annum. ARDIA, 1908, 56-57. It was further increased to sixty-five pupils in the 1909-1910 appropriations. ARDIA, 1910, 327.
159. Both Breynat and Duchaussois state that Oliver was highly pleased with the vicariate's two boarding schools. Breynat II, 188-190; Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns, 243. Though Oliver was opposed to sectarian schools (vide W. S. Waddell, "The Honorable Frank Oliver" unpublished master's thesis University of Alberta, 1905, passim) none of his activities during his tenure as Minister (1905 - 1911) in any way threatened the system of Indian mission schools.
160. Breynat, II, 190.
161. Vide Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1912).
162. Breynat, II, 192.
163. Ibid., 246-247.
164. Vide Table II, 78.

165. Breynat to F. Pedley (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs), November 14, 1907, IABS, vol. 398.
166. Conroy (inspector Treaty No. 8) - Memorandum - November 18, 1909, ibid.; D. Scott (chief accountant) to Pedley, November 27, 1909, ibid.
167. J. MacLean to Fr. A. Husson (Breynat's agent), March 31, 1910, ibid.
168. Breynat, II, passim.
169. Daly to Taché, October 5, 1895, file B-VIII-500, OAE. F. H. Abbot (secretary, Board of Indian Commissioners, United States) in a Report on Indian Administration in Canada (1914) found the church-state entente in Indian education in Canada to be most salutary; in fact, he regretted that "the United States Government, by raising the fetish of 'church separation,' has weakened the effectiveness of missionary work among the Indians and has come near to depriving the Indian youth of really beneficial religious instruction in the schools." The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Washington: United States Government, 1915), 38.
170. ARDIA, 1910, 310.
171. Vide ARDIA, 1902-1921, passim.
172. Laird to Secretary (Department of Indian Affairs), May 12, 1906, 150000-1 IABS, PAC.
173. White to G. & C. Merrian, April 13, 1916, 139, RCMP, PAC. For a discussion of White's role in schooling affairs vide infra, 98.
174. H. B. Bury, November 7, 1917, "Report on Indian Affairs - Education" RG 10 IABS - 4042 - 336877, 4-7 (manuscript).
175. Kitto, 3-4.
176. "'An Act to regulate the relations existing between Religious Institutions and children entrusted to their care'" and "'The North-West Orphans' Act'". For both ordinances, vide E. H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau 1915), Publication of the Canadian Archives, No. 9, II, 1033-1037. Cited hereinafter as Oliver.
177. W. Christie (chief factor at Fort Simpson), one of the members present at the 1874 Council, had visited the orphanage schools at Fort Providence and Ile-à-la Crosse on his way to the Fort Garry meeting. Begg, II, 233.
178. Oliver, II, 1036.

179. L. H. Thomas, The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories 1870-1897 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956). 67.
180. Lupul, I, 70-76, 83-89.
181. Ordonnances Des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, No. 5, ss.1-5, (1884).
182. Ibid., ss.36-37.
183. Ibid., ss.83-85.
184. Lupul, I, 88-89.
185. H. T. Sparby "A History of the Alberta School System to 1925" (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1958), 78.
186. Grandin to A. Prince (elected Assembly member, St. Albert), January 16, 1892, OAE, quoted in Lupul, I, 326.
187. Ibid., 345.
188. C. C. Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), 159.
189. The failure of the Catholic church to have its grievances redressed in regard to its schools in Manitoba by federal action was a severe, if not permanent, reversal. For a discussion on the Manitoba school question and its effect on Catholic educational interests in the territories, vide Lupul, II, 499-538.
190. Vide ibid., 551-709.
191. Ordinances of the North-West Territories c. 29, 30, 31 (1901).
192. Official Consolidation of the Ordinances of the North-West Territories in Force on August 31, 1905, c.75, 105, 106 (1907). Cited hereinafter as Ordinances, 1905.
193. J. F. Weber (O.S.B.), "Report on Separate Schools," (Saskatoon: St. Thomas More College Library, [n.d.]), 5 (mimeographed).
194. Ordinances, (1905).
195. Vide Lupul I, 82, n. 73; II, 460, n. 134, 496, n. 86.
196. Ordinances, c. 106, s. 6 (1905).

197. "Development of the Yellowknife School District, A Historical Summary," (Sub-Committee on Northern Education Report, March 24, 1949, Ottawa), 1 (mimeographed). For a discussion of the Sub-Committee on Northern Education, vide infra, 373.
198. Revised Statutes of Canada, 5 Edw. VII, c.62, s.10 (1906).
199. For a discussion of the Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District, vide infra, 511.
200. Grouard had notified the Board of Education, Regina, that grants for Providence and other schools in his vicariate should be forwarded to Taché. J. Brown (secretary, Board of Education, Regina) to A. Des Mairais (Oblate priest, Fort Chipewyan), October 12, 1892, Letterbook, Board of Education, Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon. Cited herein-after as LBE, SAS.
201. Three Mackenzie mission schools (Forts Resolution and Providence [Catholic] and Fort Simpson [Anglican] were eligible for territorial grants (\$100.00 per quarter) in 1891. Brown to Secretary, Department of the Interior, November 9, 1891, File 85869, Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch, PAC. The attendance requirement was noted in Brown to Royal (lieutenant governor,) July 17, 1892, LBE, SAS.
202. RAGC, 1890, J. 41. For a summary of Government of the Northwest Territories grants to Catholic mission schools in the Mackenzie, vide Table II, 78.
203. Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1896, 20. Cited hereinafter as ARDI. The Lieutenant-Governor's office allowed grants to eight Protestant and eight Catholic schools in unorganized areas in 1896.
204. Consolidated Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, c.75 s.116, s.s.3 (1898).
205. The allowance to day schools was set at \$50.00 per quarter in 1899. Vide Lieutenant-Governor's Secretary to Miss A. MacDonald (teacher, Anglican school, Fort McPherson), December 14, 1900, NANR File 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.
206. Bourget to Cory, October 31, 1905, NANR File 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.
207. Ordinances, c.106, s.6 (1905).
208. L. Pereira (assistant secretary, Department of the Interior) to Colonel F. White, January 18, 1906, NANR File 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.

209. White summarized the minister's views on mission schools in White to T. A. Burrows (M.P. Winnipeg), May 3, 1907, and same to E. L. Cash (M.P. Yorkton), May 13, 1907, Commissioner's Letterbook, R.C.M.P., vol. 138.
210. White to Oliver, October 10, 1907, ibid.
211. Vide Table II, 78.
212. Ibid.
213. Ibid.
214. E. Grantham (clerk, Education Office) to Director (Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Resources and Development), March 31, 1953, NANR File 600-4, I, Records Centre, Ottawa, 5. There is no indication that the Catholic school at Fort Simpson was denied territorial grants because it duplicated the services of the Anglican school. It was considered an Indian school until 1926, when it became for a short while the only school in the community. From 1926 on it was in receipt of a regular allowance from the territorial government. Lesage 112.
215. "Schools in the Northwest Territories in Receipt of Yearly Grants by the Dominion Government" - Memorandum from the office of the Commissioner, April 14, 1920, NANR File 630/118-1, 1, 225, PAC.
216. ARDI, 1896, 20.
217. Quarterly Report Fort McPherson, September 30, 1906, NANR, File 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.

THE CHANGING FRONTIER 1921 - 1945

CHAPTER IV
THE MACKENZIE DISTRICT, CHANGING FRONTIER AND
MISSIONARY FIELD 1921-1945

This chapter will provide background material for an examination of church-state relations in education from 1921 to 1945. The following topics will be discussed: (1) the changing Mackenzie frontier; and (2) the Mackenzie as a Roman Catholic mission field.

1. The Changing Mackenzie Frontier

Though the Mackenzie, along with the other residual territories, remained outside the consciousness of most Canadians until after the second world war, it, nevertheless, was affected by changes that eventually brought an end to the old frontier of trading posts and mission stations. The church remained ascendant in educational matters throughout the period; at the same time, however, the easy alliance between church and state was being undermined slowly, almost imperceptibly, by the interests of new settlers and agencies. The general character of these modifications will be traced in the following discussions: (1) political and administrative changes, and (2) economic and social conditions.

Political and Administrative Changes.

Fearing that an oil discovery at Fort Norman in 1920 would result in a stream of speculators who would become "charges on the country," W. W. Cory (commissioner of the Northwest Territories) proclaimed an ordinance in 1921 to control the entry of persons into

the territories.¹ The ordinance, however, was declared ultra vires by the Justice Department.² According to the Northwest Territories Act, the commissioner could only enact ordinances with the advice and consent of Council.³ This omission was quickly rectified. The department named six members, all of whom were federal civil servants and residents of Ottawa, to the Council.⁴ At the same time, field offices as well as a central bureau in Ottawa were set up to coordinate governmental activities in the north.⁵ The stimulus for the sudden interest, the strike at Norman, was soon dissipated; although the field was promising, lack of markets halted production and further exploratory activity.⁶ From 1922 to 1930 the Council passed only eleven ordinances on such matters as the sale of property, the export of furs, the conduct of billiard rooms, and the care and control of dogs.⁷ By 1929 the Council had assumed, in addition to its legislative function, the role of an inter-departmental committee. Representatives of those federal agencies that were charged with some aspect of northern administration composed its membership: the commissioner was the Deputy Minister of the Interior, ordinarily seconded by three members of his or related departments, with the other two members senior officials of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Department of Indian Affairs.⁸ The easy pace of territorial government in the 1920's quickened somewhat in the next decade. In 1931, the discovery of pitchblende in the Great Bear Lake area and the concomitant revitalization of the oil field at Norman were viewed as promising economic indicators by the Council.⁹ These developments along with the

Yellowknife gold rush of 1934 had, by 1937, pushed the value of mineral production in the Mackenzie beyond that of the area's traditional industry, the fur trade.¹⁰ A growing awareness of the region's economic potential and concern about sovereignty over the territories, particularly the Franklin district, led to the appointment of O. D. Skelton (secretary of state for External Affairs) to the Council in 1938.¹¹

As well as placating the demands of the traditional agents in the Mackenzie, the missions and the fur companies, the Council was faced with constant appeals from new entrepreneurial elements, merchants, mining interests, transportation companies, and a growing number of white settlers.¹² Although its deliberations became more frequent, its initiative was tempered first by the depression and then by the country's entry into war. Reflecting a general economic moratorium, the Yellowknife development faltered in the early 1940's because of manpower and material shortages.¹³ Nonetheless, the war sustained interest in the region. Largely as a result of United States military activity, the Mackenzie was soon dotted with a series of all weather air-strips, winter roads, and army installations.¹⁴ The American presence and the resulting critical reflection on the state of northern Canada helped roll back the "long-closed doors of the Canadian Arctic and allowed the world to glimpse some of the things that had been happening (and not happening) behind them."¹⁵ With the revival of prospecting in 1944 and a new rush of settlers, the many problems that the Council had grappled with in the 1930's once more came to the fore.¹⁶ A realization that the territories

was strategically important (a fact, according to C. Camsell [deputy minister of Mines and Resources], which was not appreciated "before Pearl Harbour")¹⁷ was hardly sufficient. The immediate question facing the postwar government of the territories was whether it could find alternate means of administering a people who had representation neither on Council nor in the federal Parliament. It was doubtful if the old order would satisfy "the requirements of new settlers, imbued as they were with outlooks, attitudes, and values common to the provinces to the south and east."¹⁸

During the 1921-1945 period there were essentially three federal agencies that performed administrative tasks in the Mackenzie: the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Department of Indian Affairs (after 1936, the Indian Affairs Branch), and the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch.¹⁹ Senior officials of these departments were, at the same time, the governors of the region and composed (with the exception of one representative of the Department of External Affairs) the territorial Council's membership. Considering the vastness of the territories and the small, scattered, primarily aboriginal population (vide Table III) the Council's dual function as administrative and legislative agency may have been warranted; however, it was not a situation which led to the interplay and critical feedback that normally accompanies the relationship between a representative and responsible government and subordinate civil service. Except for the occasional traveller or exploratory party, the territories remained relatively inaccessible and unknown. Consequently, the pre-1945 Council only had to accommodate the interests

TABLE III

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTHWEST
TERRITORIES 1921-1941*

	1921	1931	1941
Total Population	7,988	9,723	12,028
Indian Eskimo Population	7,113	8,716	9,456
Roman Catholic Population	3,849	3,932	5,061
Anglican Population ¹	648	3,352	5,327
Mackenzie Population ²	5,200	5,321	7,294

*Source of data: Census of Canada, 1921, 1931, 1941, passim; "Population by Registration Districts (NWT)" (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1956) 1, (mimeographed).

1. The substantial increase in the number of Anglican adherents reflects the success of that church among the Eskimo.
2. The 1921, 1931 figures are approximate. Territorial census areas often included populations from adjoining districts.

of a few concerns, principally the mining, transportation, and trading companies, and the missionary churches to maintain harmony within the territories. Having received the confidence of these vocal and powerful interests,²⁰ Council was able to present a favourable image of its activity to the country and to the government in power. This is not to say that the Council was indifferent to the needs of the inarticulate native majority, it viewed their condition with a benevolent, almost paternalistic, concern. Its aboriginal policy, nevertheless, was premised on the belief that the native people should be engaged only in the ancestral forms of activity afforded by the barrens, waters, and forests of the district.²¹ Occasionally departmental officials made vague statements concerning the eventual integration of the native people into the developing non-renewable resource industries: "Within another hundred years [2037] they will

be completely absorbed into the white race and retain of their past history but the vaguest memory."²² There is, however, little evidence that the Council or its administrative agencies were doing much to bring this "absorption" about.²³

Of the federal agencies in the Mackenzie, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police undoubtedly played the most significant role. In 1921, there were six police posts;²⁴ by 1937 the number had risen to twelve,²⁵ and by 1944 there were fifteen permanent detachments: Aklavik, Arctic Red River, Canol, Coppermine, Fort Smith, Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman, Norman Wells, Port Radium, Fort Providence, Fort Rae, Fort Reliance, Fort Resolution, Fort Simpson, and Yellowknife River.²⁶ While the police were relieved of some of their administrative duties by Indian Affairs and Northwest Territories officials in such communities as Fort Simpson and Fort Smith, in many settlements they remained the sole representatives of the government. In 1941, Commissioner H. Wood (RCMP) pointed out that much of the work of the police posts was for other departments; in addition to their normal activities, members of the force acted as:

Coroners, Game Wardens, Receivers of applications for decisions under the Naturalization Act, Income Tax Collectors, Immigration Officers, Agents to the Mining Recorder, Registrars of Vital Statistics, Notaries Public, Justices of the Peace, Commissioners for performing marriages, and many other varied and important matters,²⁷ [welfare officers, school visitors and native counsellors].

It could hardly be expected that this disciplined and efficient para-military force would be critics of the social and economic order. Certainly there was nothing in the communiques of the scattered detachments, as summarized in the Annual Reports, to upset the status

quo; crisp statements to the effect that the Eskimo was "law abiding" or "morally lax" or that game or fur was "plentiful" or "scarce"²⁸ were repeated year after year with the same dispassionate style of the pre-1921 era.

In 1921 there were Indian agencies at Fort Smith and Fort Simpson. In addition to G. Card (Indian agent) who supervised the welfare and annuity payments to those Indians included in Treaty No. 8, the Fort Smith agency also had the services of Dr. A. MacDonald (Indian medical officer for the entire district). The Fort Simpson agency under Agent T. Harris exercised nominal supervision over the activities of an estimated 3,500 non-treaty Indians north of Great Slave Lake.²⁹ This arrangement, in which approximately 80 per cent of the Indians in the Mackenzie had neither treaty benefits nor obligations, was judged to be most inexpedient by F. Kitto (director, Northwest Territories Branch, Department of the Interior):

The recent [1920] discoveries of oil at Norman have been made on lands virtually belonging to them, the right of the Minins [sic] Land and Yukon Branch to dispose of these oil resources is open to denate [sic] ... The extension of treaty No. 8 to include all Indians to the Arctic Coast should be proceeded with immediately.³⁰

In the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1921, there was no hint that the Norman oil discovery prompted the government's sudden determination to conclude a treaty with the Mackenzie River Indians. In justifying this "draw [treaty payments] upon public funds," D. C. Scott (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) made only obscure references to "civilization prying its way into the wilderness" and to the "growing power of the Indian as a producer of wealth."³¹ However, when Bishop Breynat visited

Ottawa early in 1921, Scott was more direct. He not only gave specific reasons for the treaty, but asked the bishop to help bring about its conclusion:

[Scott] m'apprend que, à la suite de la découverte de pétrole au Fort Norman et dans le but d'éviter tout conflit entre les Indiens et Blancs, le Gouvernement a décidé de négocier, par traité, la cession, par les Indiens, de leurs droits de premiers occupants...Votre [Breynat] influence sur ces derniers [les Indigènes] nous sera d'un grand secours pour assurer le succès....³²

On June 20, 1920, Commissioner H. Conroy arrived at Fort Providence to secure the acceptance of Treaty No. 11, the terms of which were similar to those of Treaty No. 8.³³ Assisted by Breynat, the commissioners had no difficulty³⁴ in concluding the treaty with the bands that frequented Fort Providence, Fort Simpson, Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope, Arctic Red River, Fort McPherson, Fort Rae, and Fort Liard.³⁵ In exchange for 372,000 square miles, the Indians received the usual promises and annuities,³⁶ while Métis claims were settled by scrip certificates.³⁷ Though part of the ceded territory was inhabited by the Eskimo, no treaty was concluded with them as they were not considered to be federal wards in the same manner as Indians. However, their interests were nominally protected by an amendment to the Indian Act in 1924,³⁸ which placed them under the supervision of the superintendent general of Indian Affairs. In 1928, an order in council transferred the management of Eskimo affairs to the commissioner of the Northwest Territories.³⁹ Accordingly their affairs were no longer the direct responsibility of any federal department, but became subject to the deliberations of the territorial Council.

As its obligations were increased by the new treaty, the

Department of Indian Affairs established two additional agencies at Fort Resolution (1923) and Fort Good Hope (1930). With the opening of the Fort Resolution agency, the department began a practice of appointing medical doctors as Indian agents.⁴⁰ In that the department delegated the operation and management of schools and hospitals to the churches, the agencies were located in those mission centers that provided these facilities. Thus, when the Anglicans opened a hospital at Fort Norman in 1939, the Fort Good Hope agency was transferred to the latter settlement.⁴¹ In addition to their normal responsibilities as welfare officers and medical doctors, the agents acted as coroners, school inspectors, treaty officials, medical health inspectors, and project supervisors, as well as performing medical and other services for the RCMP and the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch.⁴² Without their presence such calamities as the influenza epidemic in 1928, in which one-twelfth of the Indian population perished, or the widespread incidence of tuberculosis in the 1930's (a death rate in the Mackenzie of 761.4 per 100,000 as against 52.8 in Canada as a whole)⁴³ would have been much worse. Notwithstanding their efforts, the condition of the native people showed evidence of a general deterioration in the late 1930's. In response to this situation members of the Council demonstrated an almost mystical belief that the resources of the wilderness would resolve the Indians' plight. Commenting on Dr. E. Stone's report on tuberculosis in the Mackenzie, Dr. H. McGill (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) advised Council in December 1937 that this problem together with the larger one of Indian livelihood was best

resolved as follows: "It is merely a matter of maintaining for the native races of the Territories sufficient hunting and fishing areas, and conserving wild life in the District."⁴⁴ Almost a year later R. A. Gibson (deputy commissioner, Northwest Territories Council) reported on the severe distress of the Fort Simpson Indians:

...The fur trade [was] passing through hard times, but the Medical Officers, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the traders got together and convinced the Indians that there was plenty of fish in the lakes and rivers and under no circumstances would they be allowed to loiter in the settlements.⁴⁵

In 1921 the newly created Northwest Territories Branch opened a district office at Fort Smith, as well as short-lived sub-agencies at Fort Simpson and Fort Resolution that were closed with the collapse of the oil boom.⁴⁶ This reversal must have disappointed O. S. Finnie, a mining engineer who had been appointed branch director. Nonetheless, aided by a series of field surveys⁴⁷ he turned his attention to the management of the area's traditional resources, and by 1930 had succeeded in promoting the establishment of vast preserves, totalling over one-fifth the area of the territories,⁴⁸ as exclusive native hunting and trapping areas. It was hoped that these preserves together with the provisions of the Northwest Territories Game Act⁴⁹ would conserve fur resources in addition to other wild life resources that were the principal source of food, and in some cases of clothing and shelter, of the native population. As the field staff of the branch was few in number (in 1930 there was only a small agency at Fort Smith and two medical officers in the western Arctic),⁵⁰ conservation matters were left primarily in the hands of the RCMP. In 1931 a wave of economy struck the department

in which Finnie and several of his co-workers were either superannuated or dismissed.⁵¹ Thereafter, H. Hume (chairman, Dominion Lands Branch), J. Turner (assistant chairman, Dominion Lands Branch), and R. Gibson (director of Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch) supervised the activities of the branch with a passion for economy, especially in regard to native affairs, and a zealous and optimistic concern for the resource developments at Norman, Great Bear Lake, Yellowknife, and Canol.⁵² Such ameliorative measures as the introduction of a reindeer herd in the Mackenzie delta,⁵³ further restrictions on the issuance of game licences,⁵⁴ and the creation of another preserve⁵⁵ were neutralized by a severe drop in the 1936-1939 fur yield.⁵⁶ The bureau's conservation policies were also compromised by concessions to white settlers.⁵⁷ With the war and a concomitant improvement in fur production, the Northwest Territories Bureau, following the lead of the Indian Affairs Branch, marked time in regard to the social and economic conditions of its Eskimo and Métis charges by adhering closely to those aboriginal policies formulated in the 1920's.⁵⁸

Economic and Social Conditions

Prior to the end of the second world war, improvements in both transportation and communication facilities in the Mackenzie (prompted largely by non-renewable resource exploration and development) made the activities of the area's traditional agents less difficult and expensive, and at the same time, introduced new population and economic elements into the region. Eight years after pioneering airflights in 1921, a regular air mail service was operating, and in

the 1930's two companies, Mackenzie Air and Canadian Air, were providing scheduled flights to such centers as Port Radium, Norman Wells, and Yellowknife.⁵⁹ Chartered and privately owned aircraft were also used increasingly by prospectors, trading concerns, missionary personnel, and government officials. To facilitate air traffic and to provide communication and weather information between the scattered settlements and the 'outside,' a network of radio stations, operated by the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals, was begun in the 1920's, and by 1945 broadcasts linked many settlements in the Mackenzie with southern communication facilities.⁶⁰ While several winter and tractor roads were blazed into the region immediately before and during the war, most commerce continued to be routed down the district's historic waterway, the Slave-Mackenzie system. The extension of the railway to Waterways, Alberta, in 1921, together with better portage and wharfage installations, and an increased number of water carriers not only paved the way for substantial increases in annual tonnages (40,000 tons during the war years as compared to approximately 1,000 in the pre-1921 period), but also reduced shipping costs by almost one-half.⁶¹

After 1920 the changing economic and social character of the Mackenzie was reflected in the structure of its settlements. Five distinct types of communities had evolved by 1945; in two of them, contact posts and traditional settlements, the missionary and fur trader remained virtually sovereign, while in the other three, administrative centres, company camps, and mining communities, other agencies had either exclusive power or were gradually assuming control.

Contact Posts. The one group of Mackenzie aborigines that had remained beyond Euro-Canadian influence,⁶² the mainland Eskimo of the Amundsen-Coronation Gulf areas, began to come into contact with white traders during the first world war. In 1916 permanent trading posts were located at Bernard's Harbour and Coppermine; other posts followed, operated by independent traders, as well as the Hudson's Bay and Canalaska Companies.⁶³ In exchange for rifles, fishnets, and foodstuffs, the Eskimos compromised their traditional migratory and foodgathering habits for a hitherto valueless commodity, the pelt of the white fox. Apart from an occasional party of Northwest Territories officials and infrequent police patrols,⁶⁴ the region remained in the hands of the traders and Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries, who having expended their resources in trade or proselytism were unable, except for a few palliative measures, to meet the social and economic problems that soon arose as a result of a disturbed ecological setting and new ethical imperatives.⁶⁵ After 1946 the federal government, rather hesitantly, began to move into the region to assess the consequences of forty years of contact post rule.⁶⁶

Traditional Settlements. Though similar to the contact posts in terms of their isolation and lack of educational and medical facilities, the traditional settlements, such as Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River, Fort Good Hope, Fort Liard, and Fort Rae⁶⁷ differed in a number of ways. First, the natives of the traditional settlements, had, over a long period of time, achieved a modus vivendi with the traders and missionaries, and had a certain set of expectations regarding trade,

religious observances, and welfare opportunities.⁶⁸ Second, the Hudson's Bay Company had all but defeated its rivals in the traditional settlements long before it overcame its contact post competitors, and correspondingly attempted to manage its exclusive territories with a view to sustained fur yields.⁶⁹ Third, unlike the contact posts where native settlement had not occurred, the traditional posts were acquiring rows of native huts, and, despite the protests of both missionaries and traders, they were being used for increasing amounts of time.⁷⁰ Fourth, while Catholic missionaries continuously challenged Anglican hegemony in the central Arctic, the religious homogeneity of the traditional settlements was not challenged.⁷¹ While the traders and missionaries did have difficulties, particularly over trade matters,⁷² and while they occasionally had to accommodate themselves to the intrusions of white trappers, they exercised virtual sovereignty over their settlements with the aid of the police, who could be counted upon to uphold the established moral and economic order.

Administrative Centres. Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, and Aklavik became the main administrative centres in the Mackenzie after the coming of government in 1921. Each of these settlements had the services of key Signal Corps Stations, sizeable RCMP detachments, and regional Indian Affairs or Northwest Territories Branch offices.⁷³ They were also important mission centres; Fort Smith and Fort Simpson had Catholic and Anglican day schools as well as Catholic hospitals, and by 1935 Aklavik had the services of two hospitals and two residential schools operated by the Catholic and Anglican churches.

In addition to government and missionary personnel, there was an increasing white population⁷⁴ that maintained services, stores, and transportation facilities, as well as a considerable number of white trappers.⁷⁵ The native population was attracted to these centres not only for reasons of trade and welfare, but also because they provided employment opportunities and chances of permanent domicile. Once these centres had attained permanent white populations, the administration had to provide them with improved living and working conditions,⁷⁶ and simultaneously, had to balance the interests of this latter group with those of the churches and the indigenous people. As nearly all programmes depended on federal funds, the administration attempted to reconcile the various interests, without violating its principles of minimum involvement. Insofar as settler-church relations were concerned, differences usually arose concerning educational matters, and these were usually mitigated either by a choice of sectarian schools or by the transient nature of the white population.⁷⁷ As regards native affairs, administrators, settlers, and missionaries often held common views. Encouraged by the natives' adaptation to certain aspects of white technology and their periodic success (particularly in the Aklavik district) as trappers,⁷⁸ they agreed with the government's dictum that the wilderness was the best place, both in a moral and economic sense, for the native people. Bishop Breynat's argument that the "native people" should be kept "in a primitive state" and that they should not be "civilized" until they are "ready for civilization"⁷⁹ was echoed by his Anglican counterpart, A. Fleming (bishop of the Arctic), who like Breynat

anticipated the day when the native people would become "articulate", but in the meantime it was necessary to view them as "juvenile[s] and not as adult[s]." ⁸⁰ The circuitous nature of this thinking was reiterated by such settlers as W. Cooke (white trader, Fort Smith) who wrote concerning serious fur and game conditions in the Fort Smith area and advised that enlarged preserves were the best possible way to relieve native distress. ⁸¹ As there was virtual unanimity regarding the disposition of the native people, the settlement administrator's main task was to harmonize relations between settlers, traders, and missionaries, and to assume any new responsibility caused by either resource development or departmental directive. The administrator's growing power could only be checked by some form of local government, ⁸² an eventuality that would have undoubtedly given the traders and settlers a greater voice than the missionaries and their 'inarticulate' followers.

Company Camps. The oil field south of Fort Norman and the pitchblende deposits at the east end of Great Bear Lake led to the development of Norman Wells and Port Radium (Cameron Bay). Norman Wells was a transient summer station until 1938, when the Yellowknife market led to the establishment of a permanent settlement. The subsequent Port Radium and Canol projects substantially increased production and by 1944 Norman Wells had an adult population of five hundred. Children were not allowed, but a few Indians camped on the outskirts of the settlement. Governed by the Imperial Oil Company, the settlement's employees were provided with good recreational, medical and living facilities. On the other hand, the indigenous

people of the region, together with the district's traditional agents (trappers, traders, and missionaries), were virtually excluded from the settlement, as it provided no opportunities for native employment, or the usual facilities found in either traditional or administrative centres, schools, churches, or trading posts.⁸³ After a promising start in 1932, Port Radium faltered two years later, only to be revived in 1942 by the Manhattan Project. Thereafter, Port Radium, like Norman Wells, took on the character of a self-sufficient, exclusively white settlement.⁸⁴

Mining Communities. Unlike Port Radium or Norman Wells, Yellowknife, a mining camp situated on the north arm of Great Slave Lake, was a multi-company undertaking almost from its beginning in 1935. At least six mining concerns were at various stages of production in 1941 when the war cut back their activities.⁸⁵ The Northwest Territories Council devoted increasing amounts of time to the affairs of the settlement, deliberating on such matters as wharfs and roads, educational, medical, and welfare services.⁸⁶ Radio, police, and court arrangements were quickly made, and despite the protests of several mining companies,⁸⁷ local government with powers of assessment was introduced in September 1939.⁸⁸ By 1941 approximately five hundred people lived in the community that boasted a bank, a hotel, a restaurant, and such exotic facilities as a pool hall, a weekly newspaper, and a non-sectarian school.⁸⁹ The mining recession ended in 1944, and by 1945 the population jumped to three thousand. Soon a vociferous chorus began emanating from Yellowknife, the one mining community in the Mackenzie, for government action in a multitude of areas.⁹⁰

As in other places in the Mackenzie, the native people of the Yellowknife area were seen as a type of perioeci, or dwellers outside, and while their presence in the traditional settlements was restricted, the Yellowknife community, although part of a hunting preserve, was virtually off limits to them:

[Indian residence] was not encouraged because of a feeling that neither race could benefit from contact with the other. In fact the new white settlement failed to benefit the natives to any appreciable degree....In a settlement like Yellowknife the Indian was an anachronism and soon felt himself unwelcome.⁹¹

Undeterred by the absence of their usual clientele, Catholic missionaries and Hudson's Bay traders attuned themselves to the life of the community, the former by setting up a parish for the white settlers,⁹² the latter by entering the retail trade.⁹³

2. The Mackenzie as a Roman Catholic Mission Field

Aided by improvements in transportation, inspired by the success of their predecessors, and directed by an energetic superior (Breynat), Catholic missionaries intensified their activities during the 1921-1945 period with a zeal that dismayed the hardiest of their Anglican rivals. Before reviewing the activities of Catholic missionaries in Indian and Eskimo territories, however, it should be noted that their success or failure bore a direct relationship to the denominational character of school establishments, not only in the 1921-1945 period, but more particularly in the post-1945 era, when the state began to make energetic attempts to provide schooling for all native children in the Mackenzie.

The Indian Missions

Periodic censuses of the Department of Indian Affairs testify to the Oblate missionaries almost complete success among the Mackenzie Indians. In 1927, 70 percent were Roman Catholic,⁹⁴ two years later the percentage rose to seventy-eight,⁹⁵ and by 1939, 83 percent, or 3,084 of an Indian population of 3,724, were of that faith.⁹⁶ In the 1939 census the listing, "aboriginal belief," which had amounted to 8 per cent in 1927,⁹⁷ was dropped, and the non-Catholic Indians, numbering 640, were all counted as Anglicans.⁹⁸ Throughout this period the number of Anglican Indians remained relatively the same, an indication, according to Bishop A. Sovereign (Anglican bishop of Athabaska), of a general diocesan "retreat" from Indian work, caused by a "lack of funds, difficulty in obtaining efficient leaders for the Indian work, and the unprecedented activity of the Roman Catholic Church."⁹⁹ By 1939 the Anglican bands were confined almost completely to Fort Simpson, Hay River, and Fort McPherson, where their fidelity was being tested, particularly in the first two settlements, by Catholic missionaries. At Fort Simpson, over 350 Catholic baptisms in a twenty-four year period (1921-1945), an amount equalling the community's entire Indian population in 1941, slowly cut back Anglican numbers.¹⁰⁰ While the Anglicans were closing their establishment at Hay River in 1938, foundations were being laid for a new and enlarged Catholic church.¹⁰¹ Even Fort McPherson, the traditional Anglican centre, was no longer unassailable. Plans for a Catholic mission there were being made in 1941;¹⁰² by 1944 buildings were raised,¹⁰³ and the following year Father L. Coty,¹⁰⁴ took up residence among the Peel River Loucheux who had been abandoned

by his confrères, Lefebvre and Giroux, in 1896.¹⁰⁵ When Mrs. D. Marsh (wife of Archdeacon Marsh, later bishop of the Arctic) travelled down the Mackenzie to Aklavik in 1944, she reported that except for Fort McPherson, Anglican Indian missions were almost non-existent.¹⁰⁶ Her assessment was noted in Courrier de Famille (the newsletter of the Mackenzie vicariate) in September 1945:

Quel plus beau temoignage pouvons-nous désirer...
Bataille perdue d'un côté victoire gagnée de l'autre!
Il est vrai qu'on garde l'espoir mais la victoire
finale n'en pas moins certaine victoire de la Verité
sur l'erreur....¹⁰⁷

The Eskimo Missions

In 1920, Fallaize, stationed at Dease Arm on the edge of the summer range of the Copper Eskimo, was the only Oblate in the vicariate directly involved in Eskimo proselytism.¹⁰⁸ Though the Great Bear Lake mission was maintained for another six years, both Fallaize and Breynat knew that success among the Eskimo would only come with the establishment of missions along the Arctic littoral. As a result of investigations undertaken by Fallaize in 1923, 1925, and 1926, Breynat decided to locate missions at Aklavik and Coppermine.¹⁰⁹ Work proceeded quickly at Aklavik and by 1926 Father J. Trocellier, the foundation's superior, arrived to find several mission buildings, and, notwithstanding the protestations of government and Anglican representatives, four Grey Nuns and several Oblate brothers hard at work setting up a hospital and a residential school.¹¹⁰ Two years later three Oblates led by Fallaize headed east from Herschel Island to Coppermine; ice blocked their passage half-way there, and they were forced to land at Letty Harbour where they established a

mission. The next year Fallaize succeeded in founding a mission at the long-sought Coppermine.¹¹¹

The cost of locating Eskimo missions, however, was such that Breynat contemplated giving them over to another religious congregation. With this in mind he went to Rome in 1930 where, upon receiving promises of additional funds and missionaries from Pius XI and Father A. Dontenwill (superior general of the Oblates), he abandoned the idea. Named coadjutor in 1931, Fallaize, with the assistance of additional recruits, a mission boat and aircraft, extended and reinforced the line of Eskimo missions, until 1939 when blindness forced him to retire. Four years later Breynat also retired, leaving seven permanent Eskimo missions (Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Stanton, Paulatuk, Holman Island, Coppermine, and Burnside) to his successor, Trocellier.¹¹²

Though Catholic missionaries had contacted most of the vicariate's thirteen hundred Eskimo by 1945, their success, despite the allocation of considerable personnel and material resources, was limited. Certainly not more than 15 per cent of the area's Eskimo were Roman Catholic by the end of the second world war.¹¹³ Undoubtedly the principal cause of this failure was the lateness of the Catholic arrival; in the central Arctic the Anglicans had a fifteen-year advantage, and a thirty year one in the western Arctic. Wherever the Oblates were first on the scene, such as at Paulatuk and Letty Harbour, they were able to secure the adherence of the Eskimo bands to Catholicism, but at centers of Anglican influence, such as Coppermine, Tuktoyaktuk, and Aklavik, conversions came about only by the apostasy of a few Eskimo from their first Christian profession.¹¹⁴

Mounted in the second quarter of the twentieth century, the Oblate Eskimo offensive disturbed and, at times, angered Anglican officials.

According to Breynat, he was approached by W. Reeve (Anglican Bishop of the Mackenzie) shortly after Fallaize's visit to Aklavik in 1923 and was offered a 'gentleman's agreement.' In exchange for an Anglican withdrawal from the Indian settlements along the Mackenzie, Reeve asked for Catholic non-interference in Eskimo territories. Breynat rejected the proposal. In the first place, he argued, "...Presque tous les Indiens du Mackenzie étaient catholiques"; and second, although he would welcome the Indians who were not yet Catholics, he could only do so if "ils venaient à nous de plein gré et non par la seule force d'un contrat entre nous."¹¹⁵ As for the Eskimo mission field, Breynat brushed aside protests from Canon S. Gould (general secretary of Anglican missions), who saw the Aklavik foundation as a "flagrant and unjustifiable [sic] invasion of an area which the long period [sic] has been exclusively a Church of England area."¹¹⁶ and those of W. Cory, who found the duplication of services to be "inexcusable", and who asked that the department's approval be secured before any new mission was located. Writing to C. Stewart (minister of the Interior) in May 1928, Breynat made his position in regard to Eskimo missions unequivocally clear:

Regarding the establishment of any limits to our sphere of activity I hope you will not resent it too much if, instead of following your advice, however friendly it be, to come to some agreement with representatives of the Anglican Church, I rather stand by the directives imparted to me by our ecclesiastical superior in Rome.

He concluded by stating that the Aklavik foundation would be completed and that he would instruct his missionaries "to keep going further north quietly but steadily."¹¹⁸ The character of this 'quiet' but 'steady' penetration into Anglican territory and its relative failure

has already been noted. Notwithstanding this, the Oblates and Grey Nuns continued their labours and looked forward to the time when their patience and continued presence together with their hospitals and schools would in the words of a Grey Nun chronicler at Aklavik, win "some of those Eskimo souls so dear to Our Lord's Heart."¹¹⁹

1. In 1920 W. W. Cory (deputy minister of the department of the Interior) succeeded Colonel F. White as commissioner. C. C. Lingard, "Administration of the Northland," C. A. Dawson, ed., The New North-West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 20. The Entry Ordinance was discussed at the first Council meeting on April 28, 1921. Minutes, I.
2. The Northwest Territories Today, 80.
3. Statutes of Canada, 4-5, Edw. VII, c.27, s.6 (1905).
4. At first four council members were appointed on the authority of section 5 of the 1905 amendment (ibid.): R. A. Gibson (assistant deputy minister of the Interior), J. W. Greenway (commissioner of Dominion Lands, Department of the Interior), C. Camsell (deputy minister, Department of Mines), and Colonel A. Perry (commissioner, RCMP) Commons Debates, 1921, V, 4113. The Northwest Territories Act was amended in 1921 (Statutes of Canada, 11-12 Geo. V, c.40, s.1 [1921]), allowing the appointment of two additional councillors; H. Rowatt (superintendent of mining lands, Department of the Interior), and O. S. Finnie (chief mining inspector, Department of the Interior). Minutes, June 16, 1921, I.
5. Administration of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories was centralized in 1922. Vide Minutes, June 8, 1922, I.
6. Zaslow, 355. For a discussion of economic and social change in the Mackenzie, vide infra, 131.
7. Lingard, "Administration of the Northland," 20.
8. ARDI (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), 1929, 149. Cited hereinafter as ARDI (NWT).
9. Vide, ARDI (NWT), 1930, 150-153; ARDI (NWT), 1931, 132-133; ARDI (NWT), 1932, 34-35.
10. M. J. and J. L. Robinson, "Fur Production in the Northwest Territories," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXXII (January, 1946), 35.
11. Minutes, March 31, 1938, V.
12. Vide Minutes, 1930-1940, I-VIII, passim.
13. "In 1941-1942 there were six producing gold mines in the area [Yellowknife], but a shortage of labour forced them to suspend operations temporarily." M. J. and J. L. Robinson, "Exploration and Settlement of the Mackenzie District, N.W.T.", Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXXIII (July, 1946), 49.

14. The principal American undertaking in the Mackenzie was the \$130 million Canol refinery pipeline complex that linked the Norman oil field with the Alaska highway. Though most of the facilities were later abandoned, the project "left a heritage of a dozen airfields in the Mackenzie River valley where none existed before, and more than 1500 miles of pioneer access roads..." R. Finnie, "The Evolution of Canol," Polar Notes, (November, 1959), Occasional Publication of the Stefansson Collection, No. 1, 28-35.

15. Jenness, Eskimo Administration, 76. Though Jenness' remarks are concerned with conditions in Eskimo settlements, they are for the most part, applicable to Indian communities in the Mackenzie as well.

Airmen and construction workers returned with first-hand descriptions of the Eskimo settlements they had visited, and foreign newspapers and magazines published accounts of Canada's north that reflected little credit on its administrators. Ibid.

16. The 1944 Council had the same type of representation as that established by the 1938 reorganization. Its membership was as follows: Commissioner C. Camsell, Deputy Commissioner R. A. Gibson, A. L. Cumming, K. R. Daly, (all were officials of the Department of Mines and Resources which succeeded the Department of the Interior in 1936), H. L. Keenlyside (Department of External Affairs), H. W. McGill (Indian Affairs Branch), and S. T. Wood (RCMP). Lingard, "Administration of the Northland", 20.

17. C. Camsell, "The New North," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXXIII (September, 1946), 266.

18. M. Zaslow, "A Prelude to Self-Government, The Northwest Territories, 1905-1939", F. H. Underhill, ed., The Canadian Northwest: Its Potentialities (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 94. Cited hereinafter as Zaslow, Self-Government. Zaslow notes that it was not the large corporations, such as Eldorado Gold Mines, Imperial Oil, or Consolidated Mining and Smelting, that found it difficult to live "with the existing system of administration." Rather it was "the independent prospectors, small businessmen and the like" who resented "the many limitations on their freedom of action imposed for the protection of the aborigines, the missions and the fur trade, which they alleged, were retarding the development of the Territories along modern lines." Ibid., 93.

19. The status of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs changed when both departments were merged with the

omnibus Department of Mines and Resources on December 1, 1936. The Department of Indian Affairs became a branch and the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch became a Bureau of the Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch in the reorganized department. Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Resources, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1937, 53; Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, 1937, 209. Cited hereinafter as ARDMR (NTY), or ARDMR (IAB).

20. R. Finnie (Arctic traveller and journalist) believed that the Council's activities were hampered by national political considerations:

It is not to the political advantage of the cabinet minister to displease the missions, the Hudson's Bay Company, or the large mining concerns, whether or not all their respective operations may redound to the ultimate good of the Northwest Territories and its people. R. Finnie, Canada Moves North (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1942), 77. There is little in the Minutes of the Northwest Territories Council (1921-1944), however, to indicate that there were serious differences of opinion between the councillors and the ministers of the various departments. Minutes, I-XIII, passim.

21. Relief, welfare, and educational programmes in the Mackenzie were structured to insure the continuance of the traditional methods of aboriginal livelihood. Great emphasis was placed on conservation methods, trapping and hunting privileges, liquor control, and adequate moral and sanitation situations. Indian Affairs, Northwest Territories, and RCMP reports throughout the 1921-1945 period demonstrate the consistency of this policy. Vide ARDI (NTY) 1921-1935; ARDMR (NTY) 1937-1944; ARDIA 1921-1936; ARDMR (IAB), 1937-1944; ARCMP, 1921-1944; passim. For further evidence of this policy, vide infra, 131.
22. Bethune, 60. Six years later an identical statement is contained in a government report. Vide The Northwest Territories, Administration, Resources, and Development, (Ottawa: Department of Mines and Resources, Bureau of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, 1943), 14.
23. One of the most promising economic ventures and a potential source of native employment in the Mackenzie, was the mining development at Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes. In a handbook prepared by the Mines and Geology Branch (Bureau of Geology and Topography) for prospective developers, the author, C. S. Lord, carefully pointed out that: "Natives are engaged mainly in trapping and hunting and take no part in mining and prospecting." C. S. Lord Mineral Industry of the Northwest Territories (Ottawa: Department

of Mines and Resources, 1941), 6. While Lord discussed the problem of securing personnel (about 460 men were employed by mining concerns in the Mackenzie in the summer of 1939), he makes no suggestion that native workers might be employed; in fact, this possibility was summarily dismissed: "Indians and Eskimos are not employed at mines or by prospecting companies." Ibid, 14.

24. ARCMP, 1921, 55.
25. ARCMP, 1937, 37.
26. ARCMP, 1944, 70-71.
27. ARCMP, 1941, 45.
28. Vide ARCMP, 1921-1944, passim.
29. Auditor General's Report, 1921, I-6, 23, 21. The estimate of the non-treaty population in the Mackenzie is found in Kitto's report. Kitto, 1.
30. Kitto, 5.
31. ARDIA, 1921, 7.
32. Breynat, III, 16. As Breynat had predicted, a "new Klondyke" was required (vide supra, 34) before the Department of Indian Affairs offered treaty to the Indians of Mackenzie River. For more on the relationship between the oil discovery and Treaty 11, vide Conroy, February 6, 1920 and October 13, 1920; and Scott to Sir James Lougheed (superintendent general of Indian Affairs), November 23, 1920, RG10 - IABS, 4042, 336877.
33. Treaty No. 11, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, 1926), 3-4.
34. One contemporary account portrays the treaty undertaking as a rather arbitrary affair:

There is nothing spectacular, about the payment of the treaty, Mr. Conroy states...Nothing but straight business goes, and the natives have been made to understand this clearly. The first procedure on the arrival of the treaty party is to pick a chief, who signs the document for the whole tribe and who is personally responsible. "Northern Indians Cede 372,000 Square Miles," Beaver, II (October, 1921), 8.

35. Breynat was present at the treaty meetings with the exception of the one at the Anglican centre of Fort McPherson. Treaty No. II, 8-10.
36. Ibid., 5-8.
37. Commons Debates, 1923, IV, 3444. Any halfbreed who wished to register as an Indian was permitted to do so. N.O. Côté (controller, Department of Interior) to Conroy, RG10, -IABS 4042, 336827.
38. Statutes of Canada, 14-15 Geo. V, c.47, s.1 (1924); Commons Debates, IV, 1924, 3823-3827.
39. Jenness, Eskimo Administration, II, 33.
40. ARDIA, 1923, 54; ibid., 1930, 51.
41. Ibid., 1939, 221.
42. Zaslow, 581-582.
43. Ibid., 561-562.
44. Minutes, V, 1149.
45. Minutes, VI, 1433.
46. F. Kitto, The North West Territories, 1930 (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1930), 61. Cited hereinafter as Kitto, 1930 .
47. For a résumé of government sponsored investigations in the Mackenzie from 1920 to 1929, vide ibid., 61-62. For detailed reports of these investigations, vide NorthWest Territories 1922 (Ottawa: Canada, Department of the Interior, North West Territories and Yukon Branch, 1923); L. Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic (Ottawa: Department of the Interior Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1931); G. Blanchet, Keewatin and the Northeastern Mackenzie (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1930).
48. The preserves within the Mackenzie were; Slave River (2,152 square miles), Peel River (7,300 square miles), Yellowknife (70,000 square miles), and a portion of Wood Buffalo Park (3,625 square miles). Ibid., 86; Zaslow, 597. In the 1936 Annual Report of his department, H. McGill distinguished between Indian preserves and reserves:; "The former are tracts in which the Indians have special hunting privileges but no title to the land or resources, while the latter

are the real property of the Indians." ARDIA, 1936, 76.

49. Statutes of Canada, 7-8 Geo. V., c.36 (1917).
50. Kitto ,1930 , 61-62.
51. H. Hume (chairman, Dominion Lands Branch), referred to the reorganization as a "consolidation of staff" caused by the transfer of natural resources to the prairie provinces. ARDI (NWT), 1932, 30. Jenness and R. Finnie, on the other hand, question the motives for Director Finnie's early superannuation and are extremely critical of the branch's subsequent activities. Vide Jenness, 48; Finnie, Canada Moves North, 68.
52. Vide Minutes 1931-1944, I-XIII, passim.
53. As a result of a Royal Commission inquiry (1922), arrangements were made in 1929 to purchase 3,000 Alaskan reindeer. Six years later a herd numbering 2,370 reached the west side of the Mackenzie delta (Reindeer Depot) Bethune, 85-87. The administration hoped this project would eventually provide stock for small herds owned and managed by Indians and Eskimos. By 1940, two such herds had been established, but optimistic predictions (Vide The Northwest Territories: Administration, Resources, Development [Ottawa: Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, Department of Mines and Resources, 1944], 23) that reindeer herding would stabilize the economic position of a significant number of native people proved groundless. When the investigator visited Reindeer Station (Depot) in May 1964 only eight natives, employees of a government subsidized agency, were engaged in the reindeer industry, while the one remaining native herd was being absorbed by the contract group. The cost of reindeer meat was over one dollar a pound, though it was being marketed at a lower rate. R. Carney, "Survey on the Attitudes of the Native Population in Small Communities Toward Large Hostels and the Functions of These and other Formal Educational Activities in the Mackenzie District" (Fort Smith: Education Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1964), 17-18 (mimeographed). Cited hereinafter as Carney, "Survey".
54. The Northwest Territories Game Regulations were tightened by the Eightieth Session of Council. The number of white trappers was limited to resident British subjects who held licenses on May 3, 1938, and who continued to live in the territories. Minutes, April 19, 1938, V, 1341.
55. The Mackenzie Mountains Game Preserve (69,440 square miles) was created in 1938. Zaslow, 597.

56. Robinson, "Fur Production," 47.
57. R. Parsons (fur trade commissioner, Hudson's Bay Company) wrote R. Gibson on February 4, 1938 concerning the "indiscriminate slaughter" of cariboo by the Dogribs of Fort Rae. Having made an agreement to sell meat to one of the mining companies at Great Bear Lake, the Indians had brought the hindquarters of two hundred cariboo to the Fort (the remainder of the carcasses was either abandoned or used as dog food). The meat, however, was never picked up, and soon spoiled. Letter in Minutes, February 4, 1938, V. Replying to a petition from the Yellowknife Rod and Gun Club, the Council gave Yellowknife residents permission to shoot migratory waterfowl within the Yellowknife Preserve. Minutes, August 27, 1941, XI, 2576.
58. Vide Minutes, 1941-1944, XII-XIII, passim. A debate on the activities of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch in the Commons (May 1944), the substance of which concerned Yellowknife and the possibility of similar developments, reflected the country's general indifference to the condition of the northern aboriginal population. Vide Commons Debates, 1944, IV, 3241.
59. H. N. Hewetson, "Transportation in the North-West," C. A. Dawson (ed.), The New North-West, 221; Bethune, 40-41.
60. Kitto, (1930), 59-60; Bethune, 41-43; The Northwest Territories: Administration, Resources, Development (Ottawa: Bureau of Northwest Territories Yukon Affairs, Department of Mines and Resources, 1944).
61. Hewetson, 209-219.
62. For a description of prehistoric commerce of the Arctic coast Eskimo, vide V. Stefansson, Prehistoric and Present Commerce Among the Arctic Coast Eskimo (Ottawa: Department of Mines, Geological Survey, 1914), Museum Bulletin No. 6, Anthropological Series, No. 3. For an excellent account of the Coronation Gult Eskimo in 1914-1916, vide D. Jenness, People of the Twilight.
63. P. J. Usher, Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Copper-Mine-Holman Region, N.W.T. (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1965), NCRC-65-2, 50-63. Usher describes the 1916-1950 period, in which fifty-one trading posts were opened in the central high Arctic, as the "contact -traditional Period" in which "the hunting economy continues to hold sway, although its technological basis may have been radically altered." Ibid., 50-56.

64. In January 1930, Dr. R. Martin (medical officer at Coppermine and the sole government official in the region) urged Council to establish a "non-sectarian" hospital at Coppermine. Minutes, January 31, 1930, I. Nothing came of Martin's proposal, and when Breynat offered to construct a hospital at the post, it was turned down because no funds were available. Minutes, March 11, 1931, I, 176. The matter of medical care for the region was shelved entirely when the doctor was withdrawn in May 1931, in order "to reduce costs." Minutes, May 8, 1931, I, In 1944, the Coppermine detachment, the only police post in the central Arctic, had a vast patrol area that included portions of the Franklin and Keewatin Districts. Vide supra, n.63 .
65. Vide R. Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: D. McKay Company, 1940), passim. The Eskimo population of the Coppermine River and Coronation Gulf areas dropped from 438 in 1931 to 242 in 1941. Bethune, 48; J. A. Urquhart, "The Eskimos of the Canadian Western Arctic," C. A. Dawson, ed. The New North-West, 282.
66. Vide Jenness, Eskimo Administration, II, c. 9.
67. The traditional settlements listed are typical and not exclusive; other communities which might be included, with certain reservations, in this classification would be: Fort Wrigley, Fort Norman, Fort Providence, Hay River, and Fort Resolution.

The Anglican church operated a day school in Fort McPherson throughout the first half of the twentieth century, however, the school's average daily attendance figures indicate that its effectiveness was limited by the prolonged absence of native families from the Fort. ARDIA, 1901-1936, passim; ARDMR (IAB) 1937-1944, passim.
68. For an account of the establishment of the traditional settlements, vide supra, 26. For a description of one of these traditional settlements (Fort Rae), vide R. Finnie "Dogrib Treaty," Natural History (June, 1940), 52-58.
69. Vide Jenness, Eskimo Administration, 42; M. J. and J. L. Robinson "Fur Production in the Northwest Territories," 35-36. Zaslow contends that the Hudson's Bay Company "was more firmly entrenched (in the early 1940's) in many sections of the Mackenzie basin than at any time in the preceding half century." Zaslow, 470.
70. Both Robinson and Taylor noted the increasing phenomenon of native settlement. Vide M. J. and J. L. Robinson "Exploration and Settlement of Mackenzie District, N.W.T.", 43-49; and G. Taylor "A Mackenzie Domesday: 1944," C. A. Dawson, ed. , The New North-West, 39-85.

71. For a discussion of Roman Catholic missionary activity, vide infra, 138 .
72. Innis claims that ill-will existed between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholic church because the latter engaged in the fur trade. Innis, 367. In 1939, however, Council noted that the company had made no complaint about the activities of the twelve Catholic missions which held trading licences. Minutes, June 26, 1939, VII .
73. Vide Taylor, 53-82.
74. For a résumé of the population characteristics of the main administrative centres, vide below:

TABLE IV*

	<u>Fort Smith (Dist.)</u>			<u>Fort Simpson (Dist.)</u>			<u>Aklavik (Dist.)</u>		
	1921	1931	1941	1921	1931	1941	1921	1931	1941
White	40	193	260	35	79	76	7	91	170
Indian	365	150	271	372	465	332	-	180	210
Eskimo	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	140	375

*Source of data: Census of Canada, 1921, 1931, 1941, passim.
The 1921 distributions are approximate.

75. There were about 500 white trappers in the territories in 1941 (Zaslow, 552); most of whom lived around Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, Aklavik, Robinson, "The Fur Trade," 38.
76. In the late 1930's, increasing attention was being paid to such matters as sanitation, water supplies, and dog control by the government, especially in administrative centres. Zaslow, 627-628.
77. For a discussion of the status of Roman Catholic schools in these centres, vide infra, Chapters V-VIII, passim.
78. Godsell and Finnie both noted that the Indians had given up many of their traditional forms of food, clothing, and transportation for the white man's counterpart. Vide P. H. Godsell, Arctic Trader (New York: G. H. Putnam, 1934), 298-301; Finnie, "Dogrib Treaty," 53. Much was made of the prosperity of the Mackenzie delta Eskimos caused by high yield and good prices of the white fox. W. B. Hoare, in Kitto, The Northwest Territories 1930, 68. However Hoare's optimism was shortlived, prices and yields began to fall in the same year that Kitto's report was published. Jenness, Eskimo Administration, II, 50-51.

79. G. Breynat, "Canada's Blackest Blot," Breynat Papers, AVM, 1938?, 4, (typed manuscript). Portions of this manuscript were published in an article of the same title appearing in the Toronto Star Weekly, May 28, 1938.
80. A. L. Fleming, Archibald The Arctic (Toronto: Saunders Limited, 1965), 304.
81. W. F. Cooke to A. L. Cumming, January 8, 1938, letter in Minutes, V.
82. Opposing Breynat's suggestion that an advisory body be established in the Mackenzie, made up of "traders, trappers, Mounted Police, and so forth" to discuss with Council the "welfare of the Northwest Territories," R. Gibson warned that such councils were "not very satisfactory" because they constantly urged "outlays to which they were not required to make contributions..." Gibson thought there was no fault in either existing territorial regulations or the way they were being administered, except for "an impression that our local officers, particularly the District Agent, are not settling minor affairs." Minutes, February 25, 1935, IV, 614.
83. Taylor, 68-70. The administration looked with favour on the exclusiveness of these camps: "Mr. Gibson was of the opinion that a closed town under control of a well organized mining company was much more satisfactory than a similar town established by the government." Minutes, November 18, 1937, IV, 996.
84. Dawson, 298. The work force of Port Radium in 1944 was over two hundred (seven families were in residence). Ibid.
85. Vide supra, 123.
86. Vide Minutes, 1937-1944, IV-XIII, passim. Of the thirty-six ordinances passed by the Council from March 11, 1940, to April 5, 1944, thirty-three were relevant to the Yellowknife community only. Ordinances of the Northwest Territories (1941-1944), (mimeographed).
87. In reply to protests from R. Diamond, (president Consolidated Mining and Smelting) and C. MacRae (president, Negus Mining Company) concerning the inclusion of the mines within Yellowknife's taxation area, the administration assured them that their interests would be protected in that they had sufficient power to elect a majority of local council members and that the companies would be kept in mind when the appointed members were selected. Camsell to Diamond, October 19, 1939, letter in Minutes, VIII, 1372; Gibson to MacRae, October 15, 1940, letter in Minutes, X, 2402.

88. Ordinances of the Northwest Territories (1930-1939), "Local Administrative District Ordinance," September 1, 1939, 1-21, (mimeographed).
89. Finnie, Canada Moves North, 132-145.
90. Dawson, 299-301.
91. Zaslow, 559.
92. In 1934 Father A. Gobeil reported to Bishop Breynat that he had selected a site for a Catholic mission (St. Patrick's) at Yellowknife. Breynat, The Flying Bishop, 257.
93. "Mackenzie-Athabaska District," Beaver (June, 1938), 269, no. 1, 64.
94. ARDIA, 1927, 60.
95. "Census of Indians, 1929," ibid., 1933, 31.
96. "Census of Indians, 1939," ibid., 1944, 170. The total Indian population dropped from 4,543 in 1927 to 3,724 in 1939. Ibid., 1927, 60; ibid., 1944, 170.
97. Ibid., 1927, 60.
98. Ibid., 1944, 170.
99. Arthur Athabaska (Bishop A. Sovereign), October 15, 1938, Athabaska Synod File, 1, Anglican Archives, Church House, Toronto. Cited hereinafter as AACHT. Sovereign believed that the deteriorating situation could only be relieved by the arrival of more British settlers: "If Canada is to remain British in its fundamental ideals of liberty and freedom, of truth and righteousness, then it is absolutely necessary that we have more British stock..." (ibid., 1-2). The first Anglican administrative district in the Mackenzie, the bishopric of Mackenzie River, was established in 1884. It ceased to exist in 1933, when its northern portion was merged with the diocese of the Arctic under A. Fleming, while its southern part was transferred to the diocese of Athabaska under A. Sovereign. In 1950, the Mackenzie deanery of the Athabaska diocese, was amalgamated with the diocese of the Arctic under D. Marsh. Zaslow, 569-570; D. Marsh, Arctic Century, Diocese of the Arctic, Toronto, Ontario, (1957?), 1-16.
100. Lesage, 48.
101. The Anglican residential schools at Shingle Point and Hay River were closed in 1937, and the children were transferred to Aklavik. Marsh, 16. A new Catholic church was opened at

Hay River in December, 1939. Breynat, III, 351. In 1961, J. McCollum (Anglican minister, Fort Smith) told the Arctic Synod that the Indians at such places as Fort Simpson, Hay River ("it was a sad day for this area when our Residential School was closed"), Fort Smith, and Fort Resolution had been without ministers for so long that "they lost hope." "Appendices of the Journal of the First Synod" (diocese of the Arctic), April 9-23, 1963, AACHT, Appendix 4, 2. (mimeographed).

102. A Laffont (bursar, Mackenzie vicariate) to M. Martin (bishop's agent, Edmonton), December 5, 1941, Breynat Papers, Martin File, VI, AVM. "...Ground has been secured, I think from the Hudson's Bay Co. and it is very likely that we will have a 'pied à terre' in that locality" (*ibid*).
103. Taylor noted that the Catholics had a small mission house in 1944, but no resident priest. Taylor, 76.
104. Stewart, 299. Stewart's contention that "the long patience" of Catholic missionaries among the Fort McPherson Loucheux would "certainly be rewarded" *ibid*. has yet to be realized. When the investigator visited the settlement in October 1965, he was told that there were only five Catholics in the settlement: a priest, three white government officials, and a Slavey Indian woman from Fort Good Hope.
105. Vide supra, 41.
106. D. Marsh, "A Trip Down North," The Canadian Churchman, May 17, 1945.
107. Courrier de Famille, AVM, I, 75, (September, 1945), 5. Basing his comments on a report on the Snowdrift Chipewyan (J. Vanstone, The Snowdrift Chipewyan (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1963), NCRC-63-4, 98-104), Vanstone doubts the validity of Déné conversions to Catholicism. (J. Vanstone, "Some Aspects of Religious Change Among Native Inhabitants in West Alaska and Northwest Territories," Arctic Anthropology, II (1964), 23-24). What is of consequence to this study, however, is that most of the Déné affirmed their allegiance to Catholicism whenever census takers inquired as to their religious belief.
108. Vide supra, 43.
109. Breynat, III, 40, 56, 57, 67, 95, 11.
110. Aklavik Chroniques, Archives of the Grey Nuns, Fort Smith, I, vide, entries for June and July, 1925. For a discussion of opposition to the Aklavik foundation, vide infra 172 and 241.

111. Breynat, III, 141, 162. For establishment dates of Catholic Eskimo missions, vide Figure 3, Appendix A. By 1929, the Anglicans had become accustomed to the Catholic presence in Aklavik, but Bishop C. Seeger, (Anglican bishop of Ontario), in introducing Archdeacon Fleming, assured a Brockville Ontario audience that east of the Mackenzie delta the "Anglican Church has the field to itself." Seeger, quoted in Brockville Recorder and Times, March 25, 1929. Needless to say, the Oblates had already landed at Letty Harbour and the Coppermine foundation was imminent.
112. Breynat, III, 167, 199, 329, 331, 332, 346, 354, 356, 358, 379.
113. According to Robinson the Eskimo population of the Mackenzie District and those islands to the north of the District was 1,582 in 1941. J. L. Robinson, "Eskimo Population in the Canadian Eastern Arctic," The Canadian Geographical Journal, (September, 1944), 5. Urquhart, whose figures are used in the distribution made of aboriginal populations in Figure 2, Appendix A, cites the population as being 1,307. Urquhart, 282. The Catholic Eskimo population did not exceed 240, or about fifteen per cent, by 1945. Statistiques 1940-1945, AVM, passim.
114. In 1944, the Catholic population of Paulatuk was sixty of a possible seventy-seven. Coppermine and Tuktoyaktuk, on the other hand, had Catholic populations of twenty-three and forty-five of possibles of 118 and 193. Statistiques, 1944-1945, passim.
115. Breynat, III, 70-71.
116. Canon S. Gould to D. Scott, October ?, 1926, Copy of letter in Indian Affairs File, AVM. Fleming also hoped that there would be exclusive mission territories. Fleming, 193.
117. W. Cory to Breynat, April 30, 1928, Indian Affairs File, AVM.
118. Breynat to Stewart, May 25, 1928, Indian Affairs File, AVM. For a further discussion of the Aklavik foundation and its residential school, vide infra 172.
119. Aklavik Chroniques, I, May 31, 1926. For good accounts of the Eskimo missions by Catholic missionaries, vide R. De Coccola and P. King, Ayorama (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956) and R. P. Buliard, Inuk (2nd ed. rev.; London: MacMillan and Company, 1960).

CHAPTER V

MISSION SCHOOLS AND THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS 1921-1945

Though educational relations between the Catholic church and the Department of Indian Affairs were somewhat more animated during the 1921-1945 period than in the pre-1921 era, the department was content to leave practically all educational matters in the district to church initiative and control. Except for controversies over financial subsidies, the church-departmental association was generally cordial for at least two reasons. First, it was reciprocally beneficial; it permitted missionaries to operate their schools almost autonomously, and on the other hand, it freed the Indian administration from any direct educational responsibility. Second, it will be recalled that both church and state consistently believed in the efficacy of a wilderness existence for the aborigine. This view consequently prompted church and governmental authorities to minimize the worth of sustained periods of schooling for native children, and at the same time to tolerate, if not accept, the limited educational horizons of the other party.

This chapter will consider, first, the general character of mission schools; and second, the educational relations between the church and the Indian administration.

1. Mission Schools

As few native parents were able to provide school fees¹ and government assistance was predicated on the assumption that the church was making substantial, if not equal, contributions toward

school maintenance, the existence of Catholic mission schools was almost as precarious as in the pre-1921 period. Although enrollment, staff, and curriculum conditions were gradually improved, by 1944 they were judged to be far from satisfactory.² Even Father S. Lesage, an ardent apologist of the missionary period of schooling, has conceded that in terms of the above criteria mission schools were generally ineffective:

When one compares the activities of a day school [Fort Simpson] in the 30's with those that will be carried on in the next few years in the new day school [1950's], it may appear that the former has...raised generations of citizens who may henceforth be handicapped for the rest of their lives...Perhaps this may be partly true; yet there are limits to what a school can do, when the home, the community and the Government shirk their respective responsibilities.³

Certainly, these conditions were in part a reflection of the government's ambiguous and lackadaisical attitude toward the natives. But Lesage and his fellow missionaries saw their schools in yet another context. It has already been pointed out that when the Oblates first established schools in the Mackenzie, they viewed them as adjuncts or corollaries to proselytism, having as their primary purpose the reinforcement of the Christian message.⁴ In the late twenties government assistance became somewhat more reliable and realistic with the result that the operation of mission schools became a little more sophisticated. However, the ideological consequences of education remained, not unexpectedly, paramount in the missionary mind. It goes without saying that the vicariate's missionaries subscribed to Pius XI's (a pontiff greatly admired by Breynat because of his continuing interest in the Eskimo missions) encyclical "The Christian Education of Youth," issued in

December 1929, in which the Pope underlined the prime objective of Catholic education:

...Since education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, in order to obtain the sublime end for which he was created, it is clear that there can be no true education which is not wholly directed to man's last end....⁵

It was assumed that the native child's life chances lay only in the traditional pursuits of hunting and trapping, and consequently secular instruction was kept to a minimum; English, some French, arithmetic, and writing were judged to be sufficient. On the other hand, religious instruction in the form of ethics, catechetics, and sacred music, together with religious services, prayers and special devotions, were given greater emphasis, particularly in the residential schools, with the hope that the habits acquired and the knowledge gained would continue to affect the child's behaviour long after he left school. While only a few years of this type of instruction was given to a relatively small number of children, it was believed that with adequate civil safeguards and with reasonable vigilance on the part of the missionaries in the far-flung parishes, that these children at least would, according to the encyclical, neither be recusants or apostates: Adolescens iuxta viam suam etiam cum senuerit non recedet ab ea⁶ (a young man according to his way, even when he is old will not depart from it).

During the 1921-1945 period, apart from some intermittent attempts at schooling at such places as Hay River, Fort Rae, and Fort Norman,⁷ Catholic missionaries concentrated their educational

efforts in maintaining the already established schools at Forts Smith, Simpson, Providence, and Resolution, and after 1926, the residential school at Aklavik. Brief reviews of these foundations will be made in terms of their operations, first of the day schools, and second of the residential schools, with particular reference to enrollment, staff, and curriculum.

Day Schools

As indicated in Table V, the Smith school's highest enrollment (primarily Métis children) and average daily attendance figures were reached in 1944. Simpson's maximum enrollment (primarily Indian children) and average daily attendance figures were recorded in 1927. Daily attendance at both schools was poor; and this was particularly so in Smith, where it averaged 63 per cent in the 1941-1944 period. Attendance was further compromised by school closings for special religious observances and also for epidemics, such as whooping cough, mumps, and influenza, that periodically struck the settlements. The standard pattern of grade registration⁸ was used to 1928. To this date, only one Indian child at Fort Smith reached standard five (grade six) of a total enrollment of fifty-seven; at Fort Simpson ten children were registered in standard five and nine in standard six (grade eight) of a total enrollment of one hundred and thirty-seven. From 1928 to 1945 when the grade system was used, not more than three Indian children were enrolled in grades six to nine in both schools that had a total enrollment of over two hundred and fifty. Throughout

TABLE V

Enrollment (En),¹ Average Daily Attendance of Indian Children (ADAIC), and Average Daily Attendance of White, Eskimo, and Metis Children (ADAWEM)² at the Roman Catholic Day Schools at Fort Smith and Fort Simpson, and Grants Made to these Schools by the Government of the Northwest Territories (NTG) and by the Department of Indian Affairs (IAG), April 1, 1921 to March 31, 1945*

Roman Catholic Day School - Fort Smith

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EN</u>	<u>IAG</u>	<u>ADAIC</u>	<u>NTG</u>	<u>ADAWEM</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EN</u>	<u>IAG</u>	<u>ADAIC</u>	<u>NTG</u>	<u>ADAWEM</u>
1922	12	310.00	6	100.00	-	1934	22	409.50	3	650.00	-
1923	10	423.07	3	100.00	-	1935	33	825.50	2	500.00	-
1924	10	326.55	4	100.00	-	1936	34	650.00	2	500.00	-
1925	20	495.00	5	150.00	-	1937	34	651.25	2	375.00	-
1926	14	740.00	5	150.00	-	1938	32	655.00	3	625.00	13
1927	12	650.00	4	200.00	-	1939	34	650.60	2	500.00	-
1928	-	532.50	4	200.00	-	1940	34	585.00	3	500.00	-
1929	-	650.00	7	200.00	-	1941	31	585.00	-	500.00	17
1930	-	728.50	6	200.00	-	1942	35	585.00	-	500.00	21
1931	-	805.00	8	200.00	-	1943	33	585.00	-	500.00	22
1932	22	650.00	3	525.00	-	1944	39	585.00	-	500.00	27
1933	22	781.62	2	712.50	-	1945	36	585.00	-	500.00	-

Roman Catholic Day School (St. Margaret's) - Fort Simpson

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EN</u>	<u>IAG</u>	<u>ADAIC</u>	<u>NTG</u>	<u>ADAWEM</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EN</u>	<u>IAG</u>	<u>ADAIC</u>	<u>NTG</u>	<u>ADAWEM</u>
1922	13	642.50	8	-	-	1934	16	689.50	14	200.00	-
1923	11	643.05	9	-	-	1935	16	825.50	19	200.00	-
1924	15	605.00	11	-	-	1936	9	755.00	5	250.00	7
1925	11	755.98	10	-	-	1937	11	750.80	7	150.00	8
1926	20	346.10	20	-	-	1938	12	650.00	9	250.00	9
1927	25	946.20	23	-	-	1939	13	850.00	10	200.00	-
1928	19	755.00	20	200.00	-	1940	12	585.00	-	200.00	-
1929	21	455.00	11	275.00	-	1941	15	585.00	-	150.00	-

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EN</u>	<u>IAG</u>	<u>ADAIC</u>	<u>NTG</u>	<u>ADAWEM</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EN</u>	<u>IAG</u>	<u>ADAIC</u>	<u>NTG</u>	<u>ADAWEM</u>
1930	16	1,054.75	17	250.00	-	1942	17	585.00	-	200.00	-
1931	15	650.00	11	150.00	-	1943	11	585.00	-	150.00	-
1932	13	870.96	13	250.00	-	1944	14	585.00	-	200.00	-
1933	15	753.80	14	200.00	-	1945	-	585.00	-	200.00	-

1. Data for enrollment and attendance categories is incomplete.
2. The average daily attendance of white, Eskimo, and Métis children was to equal a minimum of five per quarter before a Northwest Territories school grant was paid. Indian attendance was often included in these averages with the result that the average attendance of Indians (ADAIC) and others (ADAWEM) often exceeds annual enrollment figures.
3. Indian Affairs grants for the 1941-1945 period are estimated, vide infra.

* Source of data: ARDIA, 1922-1936; ARDMR (IAB), 1937-1944; Auditor General's Report 1922-1945; File 630/100-3, (Fort Smith Roman Catholic Day School), NAWR, 220 PAC: 630/114-1 (Fort Simpson Roman Catholic Day School), NAWR, 224 PAC; Lesage, 147; Memorandum for the Northwest Territories Council, Education, NWT, Minutes, January 10, 1939; Smith Historique, SGM, passim; Simpson Historique, SGM, passim. Annual Reports to Motherhouse (1932-1945), reviewed by Sr. J. Kergoat, Divine Providence, July 29, 1966.

the period enrollments tended to drop after standard three.⁹

In 1933, an Anglican school was opened in Fort Smith; thereafter two schools were operated. The Anglican school, however, had staff and enrollment problems and was replaced in 1941 by a non-denominational school.¹⁰ There was an Anglican school in Fort Simpson before the Catholic one; until 1936, however, it was opened only intermittently.¹¹ Taking into account the 1944 enrollments of the four schools¹² and using the 1941 census figures as a base,¹³ it is estimated that there were by 1944 over one hundred children of school age in each settlement. Of this number not more than half were enrolled, approximately two-thirds of whom attended regularly.¹⁴

During the 1922-1945 period six of the ten sisters who taught at Simpson or Smith were without teaching certificates; the other four held either second class certificates from Alberta or special licences from Quebec.¹⁵ Indian Affairs was not involved in teacher placement,¹⁶ nor was the Northwest Territories Bureau, except in 1931, when the latter agency made the appointment of a certificated teacher a condition of an increased grant to the Fort Smith school.¹⁷ Ten years later, however, when an uncertified teacher was appointed to this school, the Bureau continued the same subsidy and did not protest the appointment.¹⁸ During the 1920's and early 1930's applicants for teaching positions in the north were advised to contact one of the Anglican or Roman Catholic bishops: "All boarding and day schools in the Northwest Territories are established and maintained by missionary societies, to which the Government grant [sic] liberal sums of money...[or] substantial grants...for their

operation." The same format was used from the late 1930's onward except no mention was made of the degree of benefit.¹⁹

During the 1920's both schools followed a modified Indian Affairs curriculum.²⁰ In 1931 the Fort Smith school, as a condition for an increased grant from the Northwest Territories administration, adopted the Alberta curriculum;²¹ sometime later the Simpson school also began to utilize the Alberta course of studies.²² To what extent these programmes were followed, or for that matter what relevance either had to the types of enrollment, is difficult to determine as neither school was formally inspected until the fall of 1946.²³ It is evident, however, that religious instruction and related exercises did receive considerable attention. In 1944, for example, they averaged forty-five minutes of a total instructional time of three and one-half hours in Simpson and four in Smith.²⁴ Further evidence of the religious emphasis is reflected in school requisitions. Though most school supplies were paid for either out of mission funds or government operating grants, both administrations (Indian Affairs and the Northwest Territories) did, from time to time, allow certain requests for supplies and texts. The Northwest Territories Bureau, for example, during the early forties, approved three Fort Smith school requisitions which included these items:

- 6 only St. Basil's Hymn Book
- 1 only St. Basil's Hymn Book with music
- 1 only The De La Salle Hymnal for Catholic Schools and others
- 2 dozen Catechism of the Christian Doctrine No. 2.
- 2½ dozen Catechism of the Christian Doctrine No. 1.
- ½ dozen Catechism of the Christian Doctrine (in French) No. 1.
- 1 dozen Our First Communion (Rev. Father Kelly).
- 1 dozen I Go to Confession (Sr. Alphonsus, OSU).
- ½ dozen English-French Dictionary (Payne and Payne).²⁵

Residential Schools

As indicated in Table VI, the Aklavik residential school had its highest enrollment for the period in 1944, while Providence and Resolution reached their maximum registration about a decade earlier. While these schools did register day pupils,²⁶ their enrollments were largely composed of interns. However, despite the latter's year-round presence and regular attendance, there is little evidence that they did better academically than pupils in the mission day schools. From 1922 to 1928, for example, of over four hundred Indian children at Providence not one attained standard six. Similar grade placement trends are evident at the other schools; according to 1929-1939 Indian Affairs school returns, only five pupils of a total of 330 at Aklavik were listed in grade six, and only fourteen of over 750 at Resolution had reached a similar level.²⁷ Conditions that might have been considered as impediments to the instructional programme were brushed aside or accepted as a necessary consequence of the church's dominant role in education or as an inevitable result of northern living. Not only did school closures for health and religious reasons reduce the September-June instructional period, but several weeks were also normally taken from the school term for food gathering tasks²⁸ that supplemented the rations obtained from government grants. In Forts Smith and Simpson only those children attended school whose parents accepted schooling and who were permanently domiciled. Other factors, however, prompted residential school attendance. Because of a government stipulation that only destitute or abandoned children were eligible for government assistance, residential schools were

TABLE VI

¹ Average Daily Attendance of Indian Children (ADAIC), and Average Daily Enrollment (En), Attendance of White, Eskimo, and Métis Children (ADAWEM) at the Roman Catholic Residential Schools at Fort Providence, Fort Resolution, and Aklavik, and Grants Made to these Schools by the Government of the Northwest Territories (NTG), and by the Department of Indian Affairs (IAG) April 1, 1921 to March 31, 1945*

<u>Sacred Heart School - Fort Providence</u>											
YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM	YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM
1922	58	6,341.99	49	400.00	-	1934	78	10,629.43	62	1,375.48	-
1923	70	13,505.40	53	400.00	-	1935	82	15,057.27	58	1,855.96	-
1924	60	11,106.38	33	400.00	-	1936	75	10,725.48	55	1,920.00	-
1925	60	8,415.50	57	400.00	-	1937	56	10,578.91	53	1,568.55	-
1926	58	9,551.83	52	400.00	-	1938	61	11,348.01	59	2,239.04	8
1927	51	10,685.75	49	400.00	-	1939		12,790.50	64	1,939.69	
1928	40	7,730.21	43	400.00	-	1940		15,630.00		1,956.12	
1929	49	5,523.92	31	822.50	-	1941		12,475.82		1,776.36	7
1930	44	23,858.00	31	897.50	-	1942	45	12,329.07		2,260.00	7
1931	52	23,933.38	48	748.00	-	1943	44	6,186.38		2,850.50	7
1932	63	11,456.10	54	770.00	-	1944	80	10,461.12		2,879.34	7
1933	78	8,609.00	60	1,092.41	-	1945	-	-	-	-	-
<u>St. Joseph's School - Fort Resolution</u>											
YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM	YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM
1922	69	6,058.69	45	400.00	-	1934		11,138.68	63	3,240.63	
1923		11,832.42	45	400.00	-	1935		9,968.28	58	3,671.24	
1924		6,251.96	38	400.00	-	1936		10,747.26	51	2,951.00	
1925		6,478.15	48	400.00	-	1937		12,610.83	40	2,635.97	
1926		10,626.98	52	1,469.64	-	1938		11,597.11	63	1,945.48	11

TABLE VI (cont.)

YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM	YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM
1927	92	8,360.09	39	1,467.43		1939		13,452.73	69	3,366.46	
1928		11,668.72	40	1,418.00		1940	140	13,609.43		3,053.55	
1929		10,084.69	58	1,642.50		1941		13,535.13		2,574.34	51
1930		10,807.27	55	1,901.25		1942		10,773.87		2,576.55	34
1931		11,709.97	58	2,200.00		1943		10,011.74		2,547.90	51
1932	106	14,872.00	70	2,200.00		1944	101	8,791.84		3,468.25	51
1933		3,689.66	70	4,373.53		1945	-	-		-	

Immaculate Conception School - Aklavik

YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM	YEAR	EN	IAG	ADAIC	NTG	ADAWEM
1927	20		16			1936		5,333.11	26	7,874.01	
1928		5,092.93	27			1937		4,972.82	21	2,606.83	
1929		7,858.89	36			1938		4,975.95	19	11,290.73	36
1930		8,760.04	42			1939		5,717.85	22	7,703.51	
1931		8,352.25	40			1940	82	7,051.63		8,176.45	
1932	50	10,861.42	35			1941		4,944.45		8,112.23	
1933		4,148.94	24			1942	67	4,363.87	16	8,242.52	51
1934		3,839.58	22			1943	71	3,918.55	13	8,446.31	58
1935		4,407.87	24	5,807.68		1944	85	5,786.06		7,764.81	
						1945	-	-	-	-	

1. Data for enrollment and attendance categories is incomplete. Enrollment figures occasionally include pre-school age children or older children who did not attend classes.

* Source of data: ARDIA, 1922-1936; ARDMR (IAB), 1937-1945; Auditor General's Report 1922-1945; Registers, Fort Providence School, 1922-1925, 1925-1929, 1930-1933, 1933-1936, 1936-1938, 1941-1947, cited hereinafter as Registers (Providence); Aklavik Chronicle, I, II, II; LaVoix Amie, 1922, 3; Resolution Historique, SGM, passim; Aklavik Historique, SGM, passim; Providence Historique, SGM, passim.

essentially hostels for unwanted, orphaned, or diseased children.²⁹

Some children from relatively self-sufficient native families were placed in these schools while their parents were away from the settlements, and others were sent from outlying centres.³⁰ Usually, the expenses of caring for these children were met either out of mission funds or through lapses in the usual government subsidy criteria. Their residence was not prolonged; after two or three years, they were claimed by their parents and assumed roles in the traditional economy. Orphans were claimed by relatives or turned over to band families once they reached their teens, so that nearly all but the sickly or unwanted were back in the camps before they attained the maximum school leaving age of fifteen. Some children remained to work in various mission and community enterprises,³¹ and a few were sent to outside centres for further training.³² As many children did not enroll until they were several years beyond the usual school entrance age,³³ their chances of completing even primary classes were slight, especially when some lost their eligibility for further government assistance upon reaching the age of twelve.

With the opening of Aklavik in 1926, Catholic Indian and Eskimo children came within the respective spheres of one of three residential schools. A few white and some Métis children were also enrolled, but they were mostly day pupils as neither category was ordinarily eligible for government assistance.³⁴ Brought in by dog team or by mission boat, and occasionally by mission plane, many children did not see their families until they were returned home, two to eight years later.³⁵ Aklavik secured its enrollment from the Eskimo camps of the coast and the delta, from the Loucheux bands around Arctic Red River and from the

Hare settlements at Forts Norman and Good Hope. Providence drew its pupils mainly from the Nahanni camps around Nitla and the Liard, and from the Slavey settlements at Wrigley, Simpson, Hay River and Kakiska Lake, as well as from Providence itself. Resolution enrolled mostly Dogrib and Chipewyan (Yellowknife) children from areas adjacent to Great Slave Lake. By 1944 approximately 52 per cent of the district's registered school population attended one of the Catholic hostels. But their facilities were hardly adequate as nearly 70 per cent of school age children (seven to fifteen) in the Mackenzie were still without schooling of any kind.³⁶

Of approximately twenty sisters who enrolled classes in the residential schools from 1922 to 1945, about one-half held teaching certificates. Most of these diplomas were issued by normal schools operated by Catholic religious communities in Quebec or in the eastern United States. While a few sisters took on teaching as a temporary assignment, most came to the north with some teaching experience and had prolonged tenures in the district. As in the case of the day schools, the matter of teacher assignment and transfer was in the hands of the mother provincial in Fort Smith - there being no evidence that the government was involved in their appointment or that it was concerned about their qualifications.³⁷

Providence and Resolution followed a modified form of the Indian Affairs course of studies.³⁸ French was taught and used extensively at schools in the traditional communities; in fact many pupils were as fluent in that language as they were in English. At Aklavik, as in the other two administrative centres where there were competing schools,

French played a subordinate role,³⁹ and like the Smith and Simpson schools, Aklavik adopted a version of the Alberta curriculum in the late 1930's.⁴⁰ Pupils at all three residential schools were required to memorize Latin hymns and prayers; additional religious instruction was given in native languages, and in some instances, syllabics were also taught. A visitor to Resolution in the early 1930's was impressed by the scope of language instruction: "Donnés d'une excellente mémoire, les ecoliers apprenent, en même temps que l'anglais et le français, le montagnais (caractères syllabiques)."⁴¹ To some extent French instruction was a concession to Métis families in Resolution and Providence. According to Father Lesage, however, its place in the school was justified by another and more important reason. Writing to L. Deschatelets (later superior general of the Oblates) in 1941, Lesage noted: "... 'La perte de la langue pour en C. -Français, amene fatalement la perte de la foi catholique.'"⁴² In 1931 Breynat laid down a schedule of religious exercises that was to be followed in residential schools, and this was further supplemented by a variety of other religiously oriented activities, including such youth groups as the Children of Mary and the Sacred Heart.⁴³ Insofar as texts were concerned, these were ordered directly from suppliers. Books and charts relating to history, literature, and related subjects were, not unexpectedly, chosen from Catholic series.⁴⁴

2. The Church and the Indian Administration

As the deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs was a member of the territorial Council, the educational policies of his department influenced the deliberations of Council in regard to

its jurisdiction, non-Indian schooling. To a lesser extent, the educational policies that were gradually formulated by the Council had a bearing on Indian schooling. For the most part, however, educational programmes that were fostered by the Indian Affairs Department in the north were much the same as those in other parts of the country. As the Catholic church was the principal agent of Indian education in Canada, the northern dialogue between the church and the administration was usually a reflection of the general state of affairs between these two bodies.

Educational relations between the church and the Indian Affairs administration in the Mackenzie from 1921 to 1945 will be discussed in three parts: (1) treaties and the Indian Act; (2) school grants; and (3) the management and supervision of Indian schools.

Treaties and the Indian Act

With the signing of Treaty 11 in 1921 and 1922, those Indians in the district who had hitherto been classified as 'non-treaty', were, like the tribes who had earlier acceded to Treaty 8, in receipt of a vague promise concerning schools: "...His Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians in such manner as His Majesty's Government may deem advisable."⁴⁵ At the same time, all the statutory provisions of the Indian Act, including those relating to denominational schools, became effective throughout the district.⁴⁶ From 1921 to 1945 the educational sections of the Act were amended in regard to truancy, compulsory school age, and school maintenance payments,⁴⁷ but the effect of these changes upon the Mackenzie was negligible and they in no way

affected the educational stipulation of the treaties or the denominational clauses of the Act. The latter guarantees together with the fact that most Mackenzie Indians were Catholic assured Oblate missionary interests that existing Indian schools would remain under their auspices, and that any new schools, excepting ones for the Peel River Loucheux, would be assigned to their jurisdiction.⁴⁸

Though clear in regard to denominational rights, the promises and statutory provisions of Indian legislation became the subject of several disputes between the church and the administration. Two of these controversies are significant, namely the Aklavik foundation and the assignment of children, as each exemplifies varying church-state interpretations of the schooling clauses of the treaty and the Act.

It has already been noted that the foundation of a Catholic hospital and residential school at Aklavik distressed both Anglican and governmental authorities.⁴⁹ Although the residential school encountered less opposition than the hospital did, government assistance for the former came only after D. Scott (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) accepted Bishop Breynat's and Father J. Guy's⁵⁰ persistent arguments based upon treaty promises.⁵¹ Shortly after the department allowed a subsidy at Aklavik,⁵² Charles Stewart (minister of the Interior) showed that he was not yet reconciled to the Catholic undertaking: "...The Oblate Fathers went down to Aklavik and constructed a school in territory that was known as English Church Territory. We have had strong protests over this...and in the face of considerable opposition, I

gave the per capita grant to the new school at Aklavik." The minister went on to note: "The English Church is pressing for assistance to put up a school somewhere in the vicinity of Aklavik, but there is no necessity for the two bodies to operate down there."⁵³ Need, however, was not a determining factor, as one of Stewart's predecessors, Dewdney, had learned twenty-five years earlier in the Thunderchild affair.⁵⁴ Aklavik was another example of a denomination locating a school in an area where there were a considerable number of natives of another faith. Once the department recognized the Catholic school, it could not easily turn down a petition for similar assistance from a church representing another group, especially when the Act guaranteed school establishment to minority or majority Indian denominational interests. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the new Anglican residential school took in Loucheux children in 1937, it did so with the aid of government subsidies.⁵⁵

Undoubtedly one of the reasons for H. W. McGill's (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) memorandum to "Heads of Church Organizations Conducting Residential Schools" in April 1934 was to prevent further fait accompli foundations like Aklavik, where there were sixteen Indian pupils in residence before Catholic authorities applied for per capita grants. McGill wrote that frequently applications for grants to residential schools were made "after the work has been completed and without previous submission of plans for Departmental approval." From now on, he continued, the department would adhere strictly to the following policies:

1. The Department of Indian Affairs will undertake the payment of per capita grants and render financial aid towards the cost of buildings and equipment only when the prior authority of the Department has been allowed.
2. Such authority in all cases shall be set out in a formal and definitely worded agreement between the Department and the Church interested...for the purpose of avoiding future misunderstandings.⁵⁶

Nothing in this statement contravened the denominational clauses of the Act. On the other hand, it meant that school establishment would no longer be a matter of church initiative, as it had been in the case of every Indian school in the Mackenzie. While the church could make submissions in regard to new schools, the department would henceforth determine when and if such requests were appropriate.

To what extent the new policy retarded the establishment of additional schools in the Mackenzie is difficult to determine. However, there is no evidence that the department showed any initiative once it delegated school planning to itself. Only one Indian school, the Anglican at Aklavik, opened after the policy was announced, but this foundation was hardly a forward step, as the Anglican schools at Hay River and Shingle Point were phased out after its opening. Consequently, the department's expenditure increased only slightly, as it simply reallocated per capita allowances from the abandoned schools to the new foundation in the delta.⁵⁷ The only record of school initiative taken on behalf of the many Indian children who were without schooling occurred in 1936, when some white residents at Fort Norman petitioned for a residential school.⁵⁸ As the school's enrollment would have included white, Métis, and Indian children, the submission was directed to the territorial Council.

Evidently Father S. Lesage (pastor, St. Theresa's) had a hand in the petition, but when Mr. Christiansen (Northwest Territories official) visited Norman in the summer of 1936, he reported that the Church of England had plans for a hospital and a residential school at the post. Thus advised, the Council let the matter stand.⁵⁹ While there is no evidence that Council's temporizing was related to denominational issues, the latter were as present as they were in the case of Aklavik nearly a decade before. Had the Anglican school project been authorized at Fort Norman, where most of the Indians were Roman Catholic, a Catholic request for similar assistance would have been difficult to refuse, especially when such criteria as need or cost were clearly subordinate to the denominational clauses of the Act. In any event, the Anglicans did not pursue the project, and it was dropped from the Council's agenda.⁶⁰ In 1938 Gibson advised Mr. Jennings (Anglican minister, Fort Norman), who had made an unsuccessful attempt to maintain a day school, that the administration "preferred to have the children out with their parents fishing and hunting."⁶¹

After Aklavik Breynat undertook no new school projects. In 1929, when the Indians of Fort Rae showed an interest in a day school, Dr. C. Bourget (Indian agent, Fort Resolution) wrote the bishop, anticipating his reaction: "Je crois que vos vues et les miennes ne sont guère en faveur de cette école du jour."⁶² To Breynat the proposal was impractical, especially as "Indians do not stay long enough at the trading posts."⁶³ Needless to say, the Fort Rae day school never materialized. On the other hand, there was no question

in the bishop's mind concerning the worth of residential schools. However, as he spent the remainder of his episcopacy in obtaining funds to rebuild the school residences at Providence and Chipewyan and in dealing with sudden and arbitrary reductions in government boarding school allowances, it is not surprising that he did not undertake the construction of additional residential schools.⁶⁴ Then, too, he was concerned with the logistics of the Eskimo missions, with hospital projects, and with the regular affairs of the established missions. During his last years in office, he became increasingly preoccupied with the general welfare of the Indians, believing, not without cause, that their levels of health and economic well-being were steadily declining. By 1940, after a relatively futile campaign to improve native conditions which included representations to the press, to Council, and to the Governor General,⁶⁵ Breynat's disenchantment was such that he resigned from the Oblate Indian committee, convinced that even his confrères had been ineffectual, if not negligent, in their efforts

...à réclamer tous les droits de nos Indiens, à les protéger contre l'invasion des blancs, et à les réhabiliter sous tous les rapports: hygiénique, économique, social, éducationnel et surtout par une forte campagne pour que soit prises les mesures [sic] nécessaires pour enrayer la diffusion de la tuberculose.⁶⁶

As day schools for Indians of either the Anglican or Catholic faith were operated more or less continuously in Forts Simpson and Smith throughout the period, the question of denominational rights, as specified in the Indian Act, did not arise in either community, though the presence of a school of one kind often sustained the existence of the other. However, the enrollment of Indian children

at mission residential schools was another matter. Throughout the period, the Department of Indian Affairs attempted to restrict school enrollment as to a child's denomination and to conditions of age, health, and social status. Needless to say, both these policies were interpretations of Indian legislation and consequently were closely scrutinized by Catholic interests.

At first reading the Indian Act's denominational school agreement seems clear: "No Protestant child shall attend a Roman Catholic school or a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices."⁶⁷ But this was not so. In order to "minimize the difficulty that arises in connection with religious belief when recruiting pupils for our Indian residential schools," Scott presented an interpretation of this clause (the substance of which is listed below) to Father Guy in December 1921, with the hope that it would have the "concurrence of those engaged in the education of Indian children," thus making "it more pleasant for the Department to give decisions":

- [1.] In future, children from Protestant and Roman Catholic homes will be considered eligible for admission, respectively, to Protestant and Roman Catholic schools only.
- [2.] Wards of the Department...should be admitted only to institutions conducted under the auspices of the church to which the parents themselves belong.
- [3.] When there is a dispute...as to the religious faith of the home, we will then call for a statement from the father of a child, as to his wishes.
- [4.] When the parents themselves are in disagreement...except under special circumstances, the father, during his life, has a right to choose in what religion the children are to be brought up, even where the children are illegitimate.
- [5.] The Department reserves the right to make the decision in special cases that are brought to our attention.⁶⁸

In mid-January 1922 Guy forwarded a copy of the above memorandum together with a tentative reply to Bishop Breynat and

other Oblate authorities, asking for their comments.⁶⁹ A month later he sent his reply to Scott which was almost identical to the one he had earlier proposed to his superiors. Quite apart from the fact that the department's interpretation would "paralyze or discourage missionary efforts," its use of the word "home" instead of "child" was beyond its authority, as it was based on a rewording rather than an interpretation of the clause. If, for example, Protestant parents brought a child to a Catholic school and indicated that the child was a baptized Catholic or that it was their intention to have the child so baptized, a Catholic missionary could not refuse the child's admission. In the case of mixed marriage in which the Protestant parent promises to have the children of the marriage baptized and educated according to the requirements of the church, a Protestant father could not, according to Scott's interpretation, assign his children to a Catholic school. However, if the word "child" were to be used in the consideration of either of the above instances, there would be no difficulty in school assignment. Guy went on to note another inconsistency in Scott's scheme, namely, that ruling three, or the principle that when parents disagreed, the father has the right to determine the religion in which his child is to be raised, was in contradiction to ruling one, which would not give Protestant parents the right to assign a child to a Catholic school, even when they both agreed to such an assignment. It was clear, therefore, that whenever Protestant parents wished to place a child in a Catholic school, it was the religion of the child that should be inquired into, rather than that of the home. In cases where there was doubt the interests of all

would be safe-guarded by requiring the father or guardian to make a declaration before a magistrate as to:

- 1 - the religion of his child or his consent to the christening of the latter in another religion;
- 2 - his free choice of the school conducted under the auspices of the child's religion.

Guy concluded his analysis by stating that his remarks represented the "Catholic view" and had the unanimous approbation of "men attending to the spiritual care of the absolute majority of the Indians of Canada."⁷⁰

In April 1922, Guy met with Scott and other departmental representatives concerning the memorandum. To Guy the meeting was particularly successful. Abandoning his position, which he conceded to be a "mauvais pas," Scott advised that the whole matter was under review by officials of his department and the Department of Justice and that a more appropriate interpretation would be forthcoming.⁷¹ When Guy received Scott's revision in October it was essentially a reiteration of the church's position:

...If a Protestant parent wishes his child placed in a Roman Catholic school and brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, or a Roman Catholic parent his child in a Protestant school and brought up in the Protestant religion, he may do so; but for the protection of the Department, we demand in such cases an affidavit by the father.⁷²

In Guy's account of his meeting with Scott, it is noted that the question of revision was largely in the hands of Sir L. Gouin (minister of Justice). Shortly after Scott's capitulation, Gouin in a letter to Father M. Floc'l (an Oblate resident in Alberta) enlarged upon the matter of parental choice. The right of parents to choose a school for their child existed from time immemorial: "Cette autorité paternelle existe du plein droit chez les Indiens

comme chez les blancs, à tel point, que les parents indiens peuvent placer leur enfant protestant dans une école catholique...."

According to this interpretation, the matter of choice was dependent not on an affirmation that the child was to be raised in another religion, but simply on the parent's desire to have their child educated in a school other than his denomination. Insofar as the Act was concerned, Gouin interpreted its intent to be one of restricting the power of the department:

...La sous-section 10 du Chapitre 50 du Statut 10-11 George V, enlèvent simplement au département des Affaires Indiennes le droit d'envoyer par moyens compulsoires, un enfant Catholique à une école protestante ou en enfant protestant à une école catholique...⁷³

For the time being, the Mackenzie, unlike many southern dioceses, was relatively free of questions of denominational choice as the three residential schools were able to enroll but a small percentage of Indian children.⁷⁴ Then, too, the decline in the number of Anglican adherents and clergy in the southern Mackenzie lessened the need for proselytization in school environments. Even with the opening of Aklavik, a foundation devoted to the conversion of the Eskimo, there was nothing to stop the enrollment of Eskimo children of any denomination as children of the race were not subject to the terms of the Indian Act.

Breynat's first encounter with the issue of denominational choice occurred in 1931, when there was talk of establishing a public, that is, a non-denominational, school in Fort Smith. As there was a distinct possibility that Indian and other Catholic children might attend such a school, especially if it had a qualified teacher and better facilities, Breynat wrote Mother Piché

(superior general, Edmonton) to urge the appointment of a qualified teaching sister to the Catholic day school: "Vous ne pouvez pas nous abandonner à notre impuissance et aux conséquences fâcheuses qui suivront inévitablement."⁷⁵ The dire results anticipated by Breynat did not materialize. An Anglican school, which subsequently enrolled white or Métis non-Catholic children, was opened, with the result that questions of denominational choice were not raised. When the Anglican school closed, it was replaced by a public school, whose enrollment continued the same as before.⁷⁶ Believing that white parents did not wish "leurs enfants soient mêlés aux enfants des métis et des indiens...",⁷⁷ Breynat had anticipated this eventuality. Thus, the denominational principle was sustained by social rather than religious reasons.

In a meeting with Gibson in July 1937 Breynat asked Council to record their support for the following principle: "absolute freedom of choice in the case of parents who are sending their children to school or hospital provided the cost to the government is not increased thereby."⁷⁸ In September his request was brought to Council where note was also made of the bishop's complaint that in some instances officers of the department were insisting on children going into institutions "not of the religious persuasion of their parents." After noting that the bishop did not detail his complaint, McGill and Gibson, nevertheless, went on to affirm that any such practice contradicted departmental policies, which were the same as those advanced by the bishop.⁷⁹ In early October Gibson advised Breynat that his position had been unanimously upheld in Council.⁸⁰ In effect, Breynat received assurance that Gouin's two principles

were operative. These principles, however, on Breynat's suggestion (request), soon became subordinate to cost factors. While the financial stipulation was not an encumbrance to Catholic missionary effort in 1937 when Anglican and secular institutions were more than matched by the facilities and number of Catholic schools and hospitals, subsequent foundations, such as the Anglican hospital at Norman and the public school and hospital at Yellowknife, would retard or prevent the establishment of government-aided Catholic facilities in these settlements, as the costs of duplication would involve additional, and therefore unwarranted, expenditures. Though the cost principle was not brought into effect during Breynat's episcopacy, the very fact that he proposed it did not augur well for Catholic missionary interests in the post-war period.

Upon reading the school assignment clause in an office consolidation of the Act, published in 1941, Breynat wrote C. Camsell (deputy minister, department of Mines and Resources), reiterating his position concerning "the natural right of the parents to send their children to any particular school." In instances where parents wrongly used this privilege, the church, rather than the government, should "examine the cases and take proper measures."⁸¹ Not only did Camsell's reply ignore the jurisdictional question, but it was also based on a misinterpretation of the main point in the bishop's query. Believing that the bishop wanted the clause amended, Camsell argued "such a measure of relaxation would cause even more confusion and controversy than exists at present."⁸² It is very doubtful that Breynat wanted this

clause amended;⁸³ it is much more probable that he wanted to know if the department's current interpretation deviated from the ones laid down by Gouin in 1921 and by the Council in 1937. If Breynat had read the minutes of a conference of principals of Catholic Indian schools held in the fall of 1942, he would have come upon the department's latest interpretation. At this meeting, P. Phelan (superintendent of training, Indian Affairs Branch), after hearing the Gouin principle,⁸⁴ made the following comment:

...L'Indien dont l'enfant est instruit dans une école financée par le Gouvernement au moyen d'octrois per capita, ne paie pas pour l'instruction donnée à son enfant. C'est le Gouvernement fédéral que paie. Donc, l'Indien ne peut urger son droit de choisir l'école où son enfant sera instruit, c'est le Gouvernement qui a le droit de faire ce choix.

In a word, the delegates' reaction to this statement was one of exasperation. Whereupon, Phelan advised them to resubmit the Gouin interpretation and to negotiate for its adoption by the department. Needless to say, representations to this effect began immediately.⁸⁵ These negotiations will be discussed in a later chapter, but it should be mentioned that their outcome had become especially relevant in the Mackenzie, because of a Supreme Court decision in 1939 which ruled that Eskimos were Indians according to the terms of the B.N.A. Act.⁸⁶ Theoretically, therefore, Eskimo children became subject to the denominational clause, and while there had been no protests to the Catholic school at Aklavik taking in Anglican Eskimo children with the aid of government subsidies,⁸⁷ the rejection of the Gouin principle would mean that the school's Eskimo enrollment could be severely reduced in the face of Anglican representations.

Under the terms of the 1910 agreement,⁸⁸ which remained in effect throughout the period,⁸⁹ Indian residential schools in exchange for a per capita grant, were responsible for an intern's maintenance and education.⁹⁰ According to the same agreement, grants for any child would be approved only if the following conditions were met: the child was not younger than seven or older than eighteen; the child had been judged medically fit, whenever possible, by a doctor; and the child was a member of an enrolled Indian band. In ordinary circumstances an application to this effect would be completed, and provided the child's enrollment did not cause the authorized pupillage to be exceeded, a subsidy for the applicant would be paid "for such a term as the Department of Indian Affairs may deem proper."⁹¹ To some extent, Catholic residential schools adhered to these criteria, but as these institutions could only take in a small number of Indian children of school age, about 18 per cent in 1944,⁹² the regulations were of little assistance in determining who, among the many eligible, should be accommodated. While the department continued to advise in matters of school assignment, its main task was to reconcile its admission policies with the interests of Indian parents and the church, who as donor and recruiter respectively, were immediately and directly involved with admissions.

The Indian Parent. Most Indian parents were reluctant to send their children to residential school, as such assignments often meant a separation of such length that the children were virtual strangers upon their return. Then, too, the absence of an Indian child did not benefit an Indian family economically, as very young

Indian children performed a great number of tasks that contributed substantially to the economic, as well as the social, life of the family. Contemporary studies reveal another native value, that of a child's autonomy, which is still prevalent in the more remote settlements of the district, and which was held almost universally in the mission school era. Hobart, in his study of Eskimo attitudes to residential schools, underlines the importance the traditional Eskimo places on a child's freedom, namely, "that children are very often permitted to do things or escape doing things in a way which is unthinkable to Western parents." If a child does not wish to attend school, or if upon his return from school, he indicates "that he does not wish to return," his choice is respected and upheld by the parents.⁹³ The investigator, in a study of Indian attitudes toward school hostels in the Mackenzie, found the same value, particularly in traditional settlements, such as Lac La Martre and Fort Liard, where school enrollment or attendance is essentially a child's decision.⁹⁴ Looking upon the residential school as a restorative rather than an instructional agency, the native people were prepared to send only "the crippled ones, the feeble, and the unfit," or those who in the pre-contact culture would not have survived. Then, too, if a family was particularly destitute or critically diseased, they might be prevailed upon to send their children. But to induce parents to part with their bright or healthy children was a difficult, often exasperating, task. At times the prodding of missionaries and vague parental aspirations resulted in such children being sent, but they remained only briefly, and were recalled "for the slightest reason or no reason at all."⁹⁵

The Church. In a memorandum to T. Crerar (minister of Mines and Resources) in November 1938, Canon R. Westgate (secretary, Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission), on behalf of the churches involved in Indian education, reviewed the purpose of Indian residential schools:

...The Residential Schools in existence today prove exceedingly useful as homes [1] for orphan and neglected children, [2] for children from immoral and destitute homes, [3] for children who are physically below normal, and capable of being invigorated, as well as [4] for children in settlements, where no Day School exists...96

Mackenzie residential schools could choose their pupils from any of the above categories. However, a combination of factors hampered the church in its role as recruiter, principally, native attitudes, the paucity of places, problems in communication and transportation, and also the lack of enforcement of the attendance regulations of the Act. In such circumstances children who belonged to the first three categories were the usual entrants to residential schools, not only because the Indians were inclined to give them up, or because the department preferred such enrollments, but also because the missionaries, moved by compassion, gave priority to such children. Orphans were given the highest preference, but even these children were difficult to recruit, as they, according to Breynat, often were "kept in the camps as servants to greedy Indians."⁹⁷ Another factor that retarded their enrollment was the lack of space as was the case following a measles epidemic at Stony Rapids in which twenty-six Indians perished, leaving six orphans, none of whom could be accommodated at the over-crowded schools at Chipewyan and Resolution.⁹⁸ Noting the positive correlation between school

attendance and periods of scarcity, Breynat advised against the proliferation of residential schools. Instead he pressed for the enlargement of existing centres, knowing that after parents sent their children in times of famine, they could not, as the schools were too distant from their camps, recall them easily when conditions improved.⁹⁹ It was not uncommon for under school age children to be enrolled; eighteen of fifty-seven children registered at Providence in September 1930 were under the regulation age.¹⁰⁰ The condition of many children upon their entrance to school was deplorable,¹⁰¹ many were undernourished, and still others were infected with scrofula and tuberculosis.¹⁰² Some were hospitalized immediately, and not a few died in their first year; for example, of nineteen pupil deaths recorded in the school registers at Providence from 1919 to 1929, twelve died within a year of being enrolled.¹⁰³ Many children were, of course, restored to health, and many were saved from the famine and maltreatment of the camps. But as the schools were so much given to rehabilitation, it is little wonder that the church had difficulty in allaying the doubts of parents who "fear for their children and refuse to let them go," believing that a stay in school "weakens them and makes them unfit for camp life."¹⁰⁴

The Department. In response to a query from O. Finnie, J. MacLean (secretary, Department of Indian Affairs) outlined the department's residential school admission policy in the Mackenzie in 1922:

Principals of residential schools have been instructed, when recruiting pupils, to give preference to orphan and destitute children of school age [7 to 15]. This class of

children to a large extent comprises the grant earning pupils at these institutions.

When orphan or neglected children in excess of the number of which a per capita grant is provided are accepted into residential schools, the Department, in such cases, when authority has been granted, allows the regular grant for such children as supernumeraries.

In the case where children are below the regular age for admission, a special but smaller grant is paid for the care and maintenance of such children.¹⁰⁵

Not only does MacLean's memorandum indicate how closely departmental policies were in accord with missionary recruitment practices, it also demonstrates an unconcern regarding the schooling of non-deprived children. MacLean's silence in regard to the latter group typifies the department's attitude throughout the period. Because the condition of under-privileged children was a matter of general concern, the department encouraged the missionaries and instructed its agents to provide places for these children.¹⁰⁶ After the deprived child had undergone a reasonable period of care, protection, and instruction, he was returned to his tribe, occasionally with some hunting or trapping implements,¹⁰⁷ and it was expected his improved moral, physical, and intellectual condition would help him to adapt to the old way and even, perhaps, elevate the primitive ways of his fellows. In special cases, the department allowed children to remain at the mission stations after they reached school leaving age, and occasionally paid maintenance grants for these children, particularly for orphan girls, until they were eighteen.¹⁰⁸ The children did not continue formal schooling, however, as they were usually assigned full-time tasks either in the convents or on the farms. As normal or non-deprived children did not require protection or care, the department did not press for their attendance; in fact any effort

on its part to enforce the sections of the Act relating to compulsory attendance¹⁰⁹ would have resulted in an immediate demand by the church for enlarged residential facilities and substantial increases in per capita grant quotas. The fact that many children who were provided for by their parents, went without schooling of any kind, appeared not to distress the department, as it believed that Indian children, whether deprived or not, had the same destiny. Therefore, as schooling was concomitant with deprivation, the normal child was not encumbered with it, as he was usually left in the camps. On the other hand, if, according to the department's view, the underprivileged child was to become a trapper and hunter, one cannot help wondering whether his period of schooling, apart from his physical rehabilitation, added to or lessened his deprivation.

At a special session of Council, in June 1933, the matter of reducing grants to mission schools in the Mackenzie was discussed as part of the government's attempt, in the face of a worsening economic situation, to reduce all expenditures. McGill indicated that further reductions in his appropriations would force him "to consider the cutting down of school grants and the closing of some schools." As the missions had already ordered supplies for the next academic year, it was decided not to reduce the appropriation. Instead, Council moved that the churches be notified that they could expect "a cut in grants...next year."¹¹⁰ This notice did not prevent Breynat, three months later, from requesting the Northwest Territories administration, through J. McDougal (district agent, Fort Smith), for continued grants-in-aid for orphaned or destitute non-Indian girls after they had reached sixteen. Basing his request on Indian

Affairs practice, Breynat wanted allowances for orphaned Metis girls until they were eighteen.¹¹¹ Almost a year after the administration had been notified of Breynat's request, Council decided that a joint committee of Indian Affairs and Northwest Territories representatives be formed to review all questions relating to the education of Indian and destitute non-Indian children in the district.¹¹²

At the fifty-fourth session of Council, on November 26, 1934, a committee, consisting of a representative from Indian Affairs, Mr. J. Sutherland, and two officials from the territorial administration, Mr. Doyle and Dr. J. Urquhart, was formed. It was decided that after Sutherland had solicited the comments of Doyle and Urquhart, he would draft a set of regulations concerning the admission, maintenance, and dismissal of children in residential schools in the Mackenzie, in order that "the regulations of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Interior [would] be in harmony."¹¹³ What contribution Doyle made to the draft is not known, but Urquhart, who conferred with Sutherland immediately following the meeting,¹¹⁴ had already made his opinions known in a report, "The Education of Eskimo and Destitute Orphan White Children," given to Council on October 17, 1934. The report made the following main points: (1) education should be limited to basic instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and some training in manual arts; (2) the graduation age of boys should be twelve, of girls, fifteen; (3) as these children were "going to live out their lives in the country," they should not be "over-educated in a scholastic way, particularly if this is to be at the expense of their ability to make a living off hunting, trapping, and fishing," and (4) the incidence of tuber-

culosis could be reduced by sending infected children to school where a "regular regime" would help throw off the disease.¹¹⁵

During the session on the twenty-sixth, McGill made the following observations: (1) the superintendent general had discretionary powers in regard to schooling periods, and could release a child from the attendance stipulations of the Act at any time, or discharge a child from school whenever he deemed it necessary; (2) he was in receipt of reports from his officers that if boys were kept in school until they were sixteen, they were often unfit for a life of hunting and trapping which "was the only vocation left open to them"; and (3) "there was a natural tendency on the part of the Missions to retain children in school as long as possible, but he thought that this subject should be broached in a careful manner."¹¹⁶ With Urquhart's advice and the comments of his superior, McGill, in mind, Sutherland wrote his report, submitting it to Turner on February 25, 1935. At the fifty-sixth session of Council on February 25, 1935, the following four clauses of Sutherland's regulations were approved:

1. The age limit for discharge of boys to be 14 years and girls, 16 years.
2. Boys, upon reaching 12 years of age, if in good physical condition, may be granted leave of absence each year for the period during the hunting and trapping season, and thereafter returned to school. This arrangement is to be continued in their case until they reach the full age of 14 years, when they are to be discharged.
3. Girls, in special cases, if considered in their interests, may be permitted, upon request of the Principal of the School and the Local Agent,...to remain until they reach the age of 18 years. The reasons, in such cases, should be forwarded to the Department concerned and permission obtained....
4. In the case of orphan and destitute children, Principals of schools and local departmental representatives should arrange to have them placed, upon their discharge, with

families who will properly care for them...and also arrange in the case of boys 12 to 14 years of age to be placed with a family in order that they can acquire a knowledge of trapping and hunting.¹¹⁷

Later they were circularized to all schools,¹¹⁸ and remained in effect, except for some minor modifications,¹¹⁹ for the rest of the period.

Throughout the discussions prior to the acceptance of Sutherland's regulations, it was assumed that one of the principal, if not the most important, tasks of the school was to rehabilitate sick or undernourished children. As the debilitated state of many entrants was often related to malnutrition, this was not an unreasonable expectation. According to the 1910 contract, however, a child was not to be admitted unless he was in "good health,"¹²⁰ and while the department took considerable pains to limit the length of schooling for interns, it did not control admissions, insofar as the health of children was concerned, either by regulations or by inspection. Some ameliorative measures were sponsored, particularly near the end of the period; cod liver oil and vitamin biscuits were dispensed, and an emergency dental service was subsidized at Aklavik.¹²¹ However, neither a recommendation made in 1937 that every Indian pupil receive an annual tuberculin, physical, and x-ray examination,¹²² nor Dr. Stone's query in the same year: "Are they [schools] to be used for well children,...or for that class of children which is infected with Tuberculosis...,"¹²³ had been implemented or resolved at the end of the period. When Dr. G. Wherett reported on the health of residential school children in the Mackenzie in 1944, he noted that fatal cases of tuberculosis were annual occurrences in practically every school he visited.¹²⁴

School Grants

As we have seen when Inspector J. MacRae (Indian Affairs) held discussions with Bishop Grouard and Father Ladousalle at Chipewyan in 1900, a basic financial principle of church-departmental relations in education was agreed upon:

...The relationship between the Government and the Church should be one defined in express terms: the Church undertaking to assume all duties and responsibilities towards pupils in return for so much per caput.¹²⁵

While the church and the department subscribed to this principle in the Mackenzie with almost equal fervency until after the second world war, one contractual element, the amount of government assistance, whatever its expression, was nearly always in dispute. The church constantly pressed for increased operating and capital allowances, arguing that it could not fulfill its task unless the Crown met its responsibilities which, after all, it had a moral and statutory obligation to do. While the church appreciated the degree of autonomy it had in schooling affairs, it was of little significance unless it could be adequately exploited, and this could only be done with appropriate departmental expenditures.

The extent of government allowances, together with significant discussions relating to them will be reviewed under the following headings: (1) day schools; (2) residential schools; and (3) comparison of enrollments and expenditures.

Day Schools. In a memorandum dated December 1922, MacLean outlined the department's grant policy to mission day schools in the Mackenzie: first, it assisted, whenever possible, in the capital cost of schools;

second, it provided all classroom equipment; and third, it paid teacher's salaries in amounts from six hundred to nine hundred dollars per annum.¹²⁶ Using the figures listed in Table V¹²⁷ and related data, one finds that MacLean's statement relates more to possible than to actual expenditures. No capital grants were provided the Smith or Simpson schools when they were built, nor were any maintenance or renovation allowances made to either school until 1946. Apart from salaries, the only other grants were for fuel and classroom supplies. After 1931 the Smith school's fuel allowance, which averaged one hundred dollars a year for cordwood, was discontinued because of its small Indian enrollment. Though Simpson's enrollment was predominantly Indian, it, too, lost its fuel subsidy after 1936.¹²⁸ The latter school received school supplies valued at sixty, one hundred, and two hundred dollars in 1925, 1937, and 1939 respectively; however, in other years, as in 1924, 1929, 1936, and 1938, it received nothing. Smith fared much worse: its largest school supply grant was in 1924, \$6.55, and in other years it received sums of \$1.62 (1933), \$5.09 (1938), and sixty cents (1939). Except for the provision of a teacher's desk to Simpson in 1931, no other school equipment was supplied.¹²⁹ Indeed, it is surprising that the desk requisition was allowed, as McGill had noted in March 1934 that it was contrary to departmental policy to provide "desks at northern points because it was felt that the people interested should be able to manufacture desks out of materials available locally."¹³⁰ In 1922 the annual salaries, including bonuses, of teaching sisters were approximately six hundred dollars per annum; by 1927 they equalled six hundred and fifty dollars per annum, and remained at that level until the 1940-1941 fiscal year

when they were reduced to \$585.¹³¹

Apart from some initial fears regarding the possible effects that a public day school would have in Smith, there is no record that Breynat was overly concerned with the department's day school subsidies, which were further supplemented by territorial grants. Opposed to day schools in principle, he was not given to promoting their cause; instead, his attention was invariably turned to the financial affairs of the vicariate's residential schools.

Residential Schools. Unlike day schools, the logistics of operating and managing residential schools constantly concerned Catholic missionaries in the Mackenzie. While the department gave tacit approval to the principle of residential schools throughout the period, and while the national enrollment of such schools almost doubled from 1921 to 1944,¹³² Catholic and other church representatives expressed fears, particularly upon reductions in residential school allowances following the 1930-1931 fiscal year, that a reversal in policy favouring day schools was imminent. Because most Indians in his vicariate were truly nomadic, Breynat undoubtedly had a better rationale for residential schools than churchmen who argued for similar facilities in southern parts of the country,¹³³ where many Indians were more or less permanently domiciled on reserves. Nevertheless, Breynat's brief for residential schools was strengthened whenever the churches reminded the government of their opposition to day schools, as in the case of a ~~joint~~-church submission to Prime Minister R. B. Bennett in 1934:

The delegation desired to impress upon the Prime Minister that we have tried Day Schools, and Improved Day

Schools, and are unanimous that the Residential School as at present conducted is undoubtedly, the best instrument so far devised for the development of Indian youth.¹³⁴

After 1931, the department's total residential school expenditure dropped from \$2,231,203.66, a high for the period, to \$1,260,823.79 in 1935; thereafter appropriations increased only slightly, reaching \$1,448,985.81 in 1944.¹³⁵ Provided the attendance regulations of the Act were enforced, it might be assumed that the department, without substantially increasing its appropriation, could have given schooling to many more children by reallocating a portion of the residential school per capita subsidies, which were three times greater than day pupil grants, to day schools.¹³⁶ However, before enforcing attendance regulations, the department would have had to provide schooling facilities of some kind for an additional 9,200 pupils, a third more than it was educating with a total educational appropriation of \$1,908,274.08 in 1941.¹³⁷ Had it moved in the direction of day schools without having convinced the churches of its good intent, the department would have been alienated from its traditional agents. This would have been particularly so in the case of the Catholic church, which operated a majority of residential schools and which was particularly opposed to day schools.¹³⁸ Even if it had secured the support of the churches for a day school policy, the department would have undoubtedly been faced, in its role as initiator, with meeting all their operating and capital costs.¹³⁹ This course of action was evidently thought to be ill-advised, as the department continued to adhere to the status quo, dealing with the individual submissions or the collective appeals of the churches in an ad hoc and conciliatory fashion.

Generally speaking, the department sought to apply its residential

school subsidy criteria to the Mackenzie, where Breynat and his successor, Trocellier, attempted with varying degrees of success to secure what they considered to be an equitable share of the annual appropriation. The sometimes acrimonious and invariably protracted and wearisome debates between the two parties will be reviewed in the following discussions: per capita subsidies, maintenance allowances, and capital grants.

By 1938, after lengthy negotiations, Breynat had secured the following authorized pupilages: Aklavik, forty, Providence, sixty-five, and Resolution, eighty.¹⁴⁰ These quotas, which remained the same until after the war, were flexible in that unused per capita allowances could be transferred from one school to another.¹⁴¹ In the first decade of the period the value of these quotas had increased; in 1922 per capita allowances for Providence and Resolution were \$165, in 1929, \$180. From its opening in 1926, Aklavik received a special per capita subsidy of two hundred dollars.¹⁴² In March 1932, however, Breynat was informed that per capita grants were to be reduced 10 per cent, retroactive to January 1932.¹⁴³ This reduction, however, was compensated by a twenty dollar increase in the Resolution and Providence subsidies in the 1932-1933 fiscal year.¹⁴⁴ Despite a joint-church submission to the Prime Minister in April 1932,¹⁴⁵ the 10 per cent reduction remained in effect; moreover, in February 1933 the department announced a further 5 per cent reduction, retroactive to January 1933.¹⁴⁶ These reductions meant the per capita allowances for the three schools had dropped to within five dollars of the 1922 payments. An exchange of correspondence between Breynat and McGill over these reductions in March 1935 was, in Breynat's opinion, completely fruitless.¹⁴⁷ No

mention was made in their letters of a meeting held three months before, when a joint-church committee again visited the Prime Minister. On this occasion, Bennett promised to restore the 10 per cent reduction on April 1, 1935.¹⁴⁸ While negotiations for the remaining 5 per cent were underway, the churches were informed that residential school accounts would be subject to annual audit.¹⁴⁹ Meeting in November 1936, the Oblate Indian Commission found this proposal to be "couteux, inutile, injuste, et odieux." For the time being, the department shelved the idea.¹⁵⁰ On January 1, 1939, per capita allowances were restored to their 1931 levels.¹⁵¹ This gain was short-lived; a year later the maximum per capita subsidy based on the authorized pupilage was reduced by 7.76 per cent, effective January 1, 1940. In what was essentially a final protest over school subsidies, Breynat wrote the Governor General, including this reduction in a list of shortcomings of the department.¹⁵² Thereafter, though Breynat did not request its assistance, the Oblate Indian Commission, under Father Plourde, continued to represent the vicariate's interests in Ottawa.¹⁵³ In the December 1941 quarter a special annual bonus of ten dollars was put into effect, and for the remainder of the period the maximum per capita allowance in the Mackenzie was \$204.78.¹⁵⁴

In addition to the stipulation in the 1910 agreement regarding per capita allowances, the department also promised to provide the pupils of Indian residential schools with "medicines, school-books, stationery, and school appliances."¹⁵⁵ By 1922 the department interpreted the clause as follows: first, its approval had to be obtained "for expenditures that are to be met other than from the school per capita grants";¹⁵⁶ and second, such requisitions would be allowed "whenever

funds can be found for the purpose from the Appropriation for Indian Education."¹⁵⁷ In practical terms, this meant that the schools could not depend on annual allowances of any amount for articles listed in the clause. From a review of the Auditor General's Reports and Breynat's comments, however, it would appear that reasonable supplies of chalk, slates, drugs, and desks were provided. Other accounts relating to freight, travel, and fire protection were also processed. On the other hand, requisitions pertaining to stationery, texts, library books, and vocational materials were intermittent and could hardly have been adequate.¹⁵⁸ Breynat was not greatly concerned about these articles; what he wanted was government assistance for "material improvements or repairs to our schooling buildings,"¹⁵⁹ items such as paint, lumber, linoleum, plumbing supplies, and lighting plants. Though the 1910 agreement specifically made such expenditures a managerial responsibility,¹⁶⁰ the department, in the 1920's, paid the cost of a water supply system at Providence and a threshing machine, a water supply system, and a lighting plant at Resolution.¹⁶¹ From 1938 on, expenditures of this type became established practice in the Mackenzie. Listed as repairs and equipment, these allowances averaged seven hundred dollars a year per school.¹⁶² Nevertheless, it was still difficult to anticipate what the department would allow. In this connection Plourde argued in a letter to Crerar "that when requests are forwarded for repairs and improvements...the Department should not hesitate to assist simply because the buildings were originally erected from Church funds."¹⁶³ Encouraged by a four thousand dollar repair and maintenance allowance provided by the department to the three schools in the 1939-1940 fiscal year,¹⁶⁴ Father J. Serrurot

(bursar, Mackenzie vicariate) submitted requisitions for thirty-five hundred and three thousand dollars for the years ending 1941 and 1942.¹⁶⁵ The department halved both these requisitions.¹⁶⁶ In August 1941, Plourde advised Breynat to have the principals of the schools "demander avec insistance les choses dont ils ont un besoin urgent," to specify "les sommes qui ont été employées pour l'achat de matériel et les gages qui ont été payés," and "souligner si ces dépenses ont été payées à même l'octroi où à même les allocations missionnaires."¹⁶⁷ Anticipating the 1945 appropriation, Plourde wrote the vicariate's new incumbent, Trocellier, noting that "votre vicariate n'a pas reçu grand chose depuis plusieurs années" and recommending that he "faire une liste assez substantielle des réparations dont vous avez actuellement besoin, surtout s'il s'agit de peinture, de nouvelles couvertures, ou de systèmes de chauffage."¹⁶⁸

Comparison of Enrollments and Expenditures. Before concluding this section on grants to mission schools, a comparison of the department's educational appropriation will be made to indicate, in terms of expenditures for school-age children and actual enrollments, the relative position of Indian schools in the Mackenzie with Indian schools in other parts of the country. The calculations (vide Table VII) are based on the 1939 census, expenditure, and enrollment reports of the department. Generally speaking, 1939 (a departmental decennial census year) represents the state of Indian education in Canada from 1939 to 1945,¹⁶⁹ as expenditures and enrollments during this time were approximately the same. The calculations also indicate pre-1939 appropriation and enrollment trends.¹⁷⁰

TABLE VII

Enrollment and Expenditure-Indian Schools - Canada 1939*¹

Percentage of Enrolled Children of School Age (7-16)		Rank		Area		Percentage Enrollment Attendance		Rank		Area		Expenditure Per School Age Child	
Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area
1	N.S.	1	Alta.	1	Alta.	90	Alta.	1	Alta.	1	Alta.	1	\$109.00
2.5	Ont.	2	NWT.	2	NWT.	85	NWT.	2	Sask.	2	Sask.	2	\$101.00
2.5	Sask.	3	Sask.	3	Sask.	84	Sask.	3	N.S.	3	N.S.	3	\$84.00
4	Man.	4	N.S.	4	N.S.	79	N.S.	4.5	B.C.	4.5	B.C.	4.5	\$67.00
5.5	Alta.	5	N.B.	5	N.B.	77	N.B.	4.5	Man.	4.5	Man.	4.5	\$67.00
5.5	B.C.	6	Ont.	6	Ont.	76	Ont.	6.5	Ont.	6.5	Ont.	6.5	\$61.00
7	N.B.	7	B.C.	7	B.C.	75	B.C.	6.5	Yuk.	6.5	Yuk.	6.5	\$61.00
8	Yuk.	8	Que.	8	Que.	72	Que.	8	PEI.	8	PEI.	8	\$45.00
9	Que.	9	Man.	9	Man.	70	Man.	9	NWT.	9	NWT.	9	\$44.00
10	NWT.	10	Yuk.	10	Yuk.	63	Yuk.	10	N.B.	10	N.B.	10	\$29.00
11	PEI.	11	PEI.	11	PEI.	54	PEI.	11	Que.	11	Que.	11	\$19.00

Expenditure Per Enrolled Day School Pupil		Rank		Area		Expenditure Per Enrolled Residential Pupil	
Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area	Rank	Area
1	PEI.	1	Yuk.	1	Yuk.	1	\$243.00
2	Sask.	2	NWT.	2	NWT.	2	\$173.00
3	Alta.	3	N.S.	3	N.S.	3	\$166.00
4	N.B.	4	Alta.	4	Alta.	4	\$156.00
5	Man.	5	Man.	5	Man.	5	\$155.00
6	NWT.	6	B.C.	6	B.C.	6	\$154.00
7.5	Ont.	7	Sask.	7	Sask.	7	\$150.00
7.5	Que.	8	Ont.	8	Ont.	8	\$148.00

Expenditure Per Enrolled Day School		Expenditure Per Enrolled Residential	
<u>Rank</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Area</u>
	<u>Pupil</u>		<u>Pupil</u>
9.5	B.C.	9	Que.
			\$ 91.00
9.5	N.S.	10	PEI.
			-
11	Yuk.	11	N.B.
			-

* Source of data ARDMR (IAB), 1939, 223, 266-267, ibid., 1942, 150.

1. Calculations for the Mackenzie (all Indian children in the territories were resident in the district) include Anglican schools at Aklavik and Fort McPherson. The analysis does not include national general expenditures of \$187,236.06, or the combined white and Indian schools' enrollment of 244.

While the Mackenzie day school per capita allowance of forty-three dollars ranked sixth, and was only slightly below the overall average of forty-four dollars, and while its residential per capita allowance of \$173. ranked second, and was above the overall average of \$159, the district's per capita expenditure was far below the national average for Indian schools. Though it had the second highest average daily attendance, the Mackenzie with an enrollment percentage of twenty-nine had the second lowest possible Indian enrollment in Canada. As children younger than seven and older than sixteen were listed in the registers of residential schools in the Mackenzie, the actual enrollment of school age children would be below the percentage cited.¹⁷¹ Though per capita allowances to Mackenzie schools were average or above, their value was reduced by two factors which, with the possible exception of the Yukon, did not apply to other Indian schools in the country. First, allowances were discounted by the higher freight and material costs of the North; and second, the allowances partly subsidized schooling costs for white, Métis, and Eskimo children.¹⁷²

The Management and Supervision of Indian Schools

While the clauses of the 1910 agreement and day and residential school regulations concerning the operation and management of Indian schools applied to the Mackenzie, their influence, in practical terms, on the affairs of Catholic mission schools was minimal. To a considerable extent this was caused by such factors as the remoteness of the district, the nomadic character of the Athabaskans, the relatively

small educational appropriation, and the absence of any supervisory authority. Then, too, Breynat's influence among departmental officers, both in Ottawa and the district, was considerable. His representations were sufficiently demanding to make the department pause, before insisting on adherence to the regulations or before initiating more ambitious programmes, as either course of action would have inevitably meant increased expenditures. The ~~three~~ superintendents general, Stewart, Murphy, and Crerar,¹⁷³ sympathetically received Breynat's advice on schooling matters. Their deputies, Scott and McGill, expressed their high regard for the bishop's contributions to Indian education.¹⁷⁴ Though Breynat regretted, in 1932, that "there were no Catholics of any consequence in the Department of Indian Affairs,"¹⁷⁵ and though he was "pleased" to note the appointment of a co-religionist, P. Phelan,¹⁷⁶ to a senior educational posting in the department two years later, the fact that none of the superintendents or deputy superintendents general were Roman Catholic appeared not to concern him, possibly because he found none of them antagonistic to Catholic missionary activity. Church-departmental relations in the district were almost as cordial. Though the district's Indian agents reported only on "the general welfare of the pupils,"¹⁷⁷ and not on their instructional environment, their good will and their cooperation in medical, welfare, and recruiting matters benefited the churches considerably. Breynat thought highly of T. Harris and G. Card, the Indian agents at Fort Simpson and Smith. Though not a Catholic, Card, like Harris, consistently supported mission schools and hospitals.¹⁷⁸ According to Breynat, the Fort Resolution agency, which opened in 1923, was "réservé à un catholique et un canadien

français";¹⁷⁹ in fact, all three incumbents, Drs. Bourget, Amyot, and Riopel, met these requirements. There is no evidence that Breynat opposed the appointment of Dr. Truesdell, a non-Catholic, to the Simpson agency when Harris was transferred, but he did protest the activities of Dr. Head, Harris' successor at Good Hope, and of Dr. Lewis, Card's replacement at Smith (later Chipewyan), as he had reason to believe that they were unsympathetic, if not opposed, to the work of the Catholic mission.¹⁸⁰ While Breynat probably would have preferred all the agents to be Catholic, he had to compete with representations of the Anglicans who also wished to have men of their denomination located in the district.¹⁸¹ Then, too, his experience with men like Card and Truesdell undoubtedly lessened his concern. However, there was always the possibility that non-Catholic appointments, like those of Lewis and Head, could cause difficulty. Though he did not oppose the appointment of Dr. Harvey to Fort Norman, possibly because he was unable to nominate a candidate, or because the agency supervised the Peel River Loucheux, he would have undoubtedly made strong representations concerning the doctor's tenure had he known of Harvey's comment to Gibson in 1945: "I am convinced that schools should very definitely be divorced from religious organizations and be operated by the administration."¹⁸²

Though mission schools in the Mackenzie were managed with a minimum of departmental control or supervision, the department did make suggestions concerning educational matters which, if nothing else, affected the general tenor of each school's operation. Principally its recommendations related to the following: (1) destination of pupils; (2) teaching staff; and (3) inspection and curriculum.

Destination of Pupils. The department's views concerning the worth of the hunting and trapping life, the admissibility, and the length of schooling of Indian children in the Mackenzie have already been noted. It is not surprising, therefore, that the department expected mission school graduates to return to the wilderness. In 1914 Scott wrote the principals at Resolution and Providence concerning the destination of ex-pupils. Indian agents, he noted, had been advised to select "the most favorable location" for such children, and had been asked to "consider the advisability of forming them into separate colonies...removed to some extent from the older Indians."¹⁸³ Needless to say, the colonies never materialized. Indeed, even R. Ferrier's (superintendent of Indian education) suggestion to agents in the district that they "check the whereabouts of school graduates" was also judged to be an unwarranted exercise.¹⁸⁴ Three years after Ferrier's memorandum, Dr. P. Head advised "the follow-up system is of no value to [a] country [where] all Indian pupils on leaving school immediately go back to their only mode of life, namely, trapping."¹⁸⁵ Replying to a letter from Breynat in 1938, Hoey reiterated Head's opinion.¹⁸⁶ Of the two parties, Breynat was more inclined to foster "higher education [secondary schooling]," but he, too, conceded that, except for a very few, such a standard was "a dream, impossible to realize, at least under present conditions."¹⁸⁷ Representations were made to the department in 1941 for assistance for a nurses' aid training programme that was to be conducted in mission hospitals for graduates of territorial schools.¹⁸⁸ One departmental officer, Dr. P. Moore, (assistant superintendent medical services of Indian Affairs), favoured the submission, noting:

"When they have completed their course of study they usually return to the reserves and marry. They are the brightest girls in the reserve and keep the cleanest houses."¹⁸⁹ However, his confreres, McGill¹⁹⁰ and MacInnes, opposed giving the project any official recognition, principally because, according to MacInnes: "...The Indian Affairs Branch might be called upon to bear some expense in connection with the scheme."¹⁹¹ The department assisted a few ex-pupils who were sent to southern schools by the missions and some children prior to their return to the camps, either in the form of grants or "hunting and trapping implements";¹⁹² otherwise, it left them alone.

Teaching Staff. The 1910 agreement specified that the management of a residential school was not to employ, except for a probationary period of six months, any teacher:

...until evidence satisfactory to the Superintendent General has been submitted to him that such teacher...is able to converse with the pupils...in English...and is able to speak and write the English language fluently and correctly and possesses such other qualifications as in the opinion of the Superintendent General may be necessary.¹⁹³

To 1939, there is no evidence that the department, other than listing teachers for school allowances, made any stipulations regarding the qualifications, or tests concerning the language ability of teachers in four of the five Catholic mission schools.¹⁹⁴ On January 10, 1939, a memorandum, which, among other matters, reviewed the qualifications of mission teachers in the district and made recommendations regarding them, was adopted by Council and approved by McGill, its Indian Affairs representative:

Except at Fort Smith...there is no rule requiring the Missions to employ only teachers having provincial qualifications

...Most of the teachers in the Northwest Territories are the missionaries stationed at the various points and it would appear the small attendance of pupils...would hardly justify the employment of professional teachers. In the Indian day schools throughout the Provinces most of the teachers are appointed by the Department. In the Northwest Territories the selection of teachers is left to the Missions.

The memorandum went on to note that "it seems desirable to explore any avenues which might lead to improvement...in the educational facilities in the Northwest Territories." Though the government's "outlay in supporting the Mission schools" represented "a considerable contribution toward education," and while it was "doubtful" that such aid "could be materially increased," it was, nevertheless, believed "that improvements may be effected without incurring any considerable additional expense." The report recommended that "Mission authorities be urged to improve the professional qualifications of their teachers, particularly where there is a demand for a higher standard of education than is now provided."¹⁹⁵ What prompted the memorandum is not known; however, representations at the time from the white communities at Smith and Yellowknife for improved school facilities probably helped initiate it.¹⁹⁶ Certainly, there is no indication the Indians petitioned for improvements. For that matter, it is surprising that the department which held such limited educational objectives for its wards,¹⁹⁷ sponsored such a document. In any event, there is no evidence the Council or the department forwarded its observations or recommendations to Catholic authorities in the district.

In a confidential note to Plourde in September 1939, Hoey advised that it had been rumoured that one of the first tasks of a new association, "The Canada-Newfoundland Education Association" being

formed under Dr. G. McNally (deputy minister of Education, Alberta) was to be an investigation of Indian education. According to Hoey, any such inquiry would undoubtedly be critical of the qualifications of Indian school teachers. For this, as well as for other reasons, he therefore advised that it would be most inappropriate "to even suggest to this body that a survey of Indian educational effort be undertaken at this time."¹⁹⁸ What influence Hoey's note had a month later on an Indian Oblate Commission's recommendation to the effect that all teachers in Catholic Indian schools be "duly qualified" is not known.¹⁹⁹ But neither Hoey's apprehension, nor the Oblate resolution, nor Plourde's letter to Breynat in April 1940 in this connection, altered the bishop's views concerning the need for qualified teachers in his vicariate:

J'avoue ne pas voir de nécessité d'avoir des maîtresses ~~diplômées~~ dans le nord, où nous gardons les enfants que peu de temps, juste assez pour leur apprendre à lire et à écrire. Autrement ils deviennent des déclassés. La situation est différente dans le sud, où les indiens ne vivent plus de chasses et de pêche. J'ai toujours insisté pour que, dans les rapports du Comté [sic] avec le Gouvernement, à Ottawa, on insiste sur la distinction qui existe, et qui doit être maintenue, entre le nord et le sud. On ne peut pas et ne doit pas les traiter de la même manière.²⁰⁰

At its reunion in December 1941, the Oblate Indian Commission reiterated its recommendation of 1939: "...Les instituteurs dans nos écoles soient dûment qualifiés pour l'enseignement." Following the meeting, Mother Allaire (assistant general, Grey Nuns) agreed that unqualified teaching sisters should complete studies leading to a "Brevet de la Province de Québec." The committee's apprehensions concerning the Quebec certificate ("brevet qui n'est pas toujours très bien vu dans provinces de l'Ouest") were allayed by the

department's assurance that the "brevet suffirait et qu'on n'en exigerait pas d'autre." Breynat was informed of these events in February 1942, and was asked to arrange "temps libre pour qu'elles puissent suivre ces cours d'été."²⁰¹ There is no evidence, however, that the vicariate moved in this direction. Nor is there any record of the department making any representations to Breynat or Trocellier concerning teaching personnel. In fact, it would have been unlikely if the department's attitude toward the qualifications of teachers, as outlined by Mr. M. Doucet (assistant educational officer, Indian Affairs) to the St. Boniface convention in 1942, would have caused much anxiety, especially in the remote northern schools:

Le Surintendant actuel de Bien-être et de Entraînement [Hoey] n'aime pas remplacer les Soeurs par des laïques. Mais il exigera un jour que le personnel enseignant des pensionnat indiens ait les qualifications requises.²⁰²

Inspection and Curriculum. Whatever validity they may have had to Indian schools in other parts of the country, the following statements by Scott in a paper entitled The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada 1931 did not apply to the Mackenzie: "[1]... Provincial School inspectors visit all classrooms and report on the academic work...; and [2] At all Indian schools, provincial curricula are followed."²⁰³

Before 1946 none of the schools in the Mackenzie was formally inspected. Prior to this, Indian Agents, RCMP officers, and Northwest Territories officials visited the schools occasionally, but, apart from incidental comments about the physical condition of the schools or the health of the pupils, they made no detailed observations

on curricula, staff, or related instructional matters.²⁰⁴ At its meeting in January 1939, Council, after noting that the district's schools had never been formally inspected, recommended that arrangements be made "for an inspection every year or two...by a school inspector with qualifications equivalent to those required in the Provinces."²⁰⁵ By 1944, however, no one had been nominated. In that year, the Canadian Social Science Research Council appointed Andrew Moore (inspector of schools, Province of Manitoba) to report on educational facilities in the Mackenzie. When Council became aware of this inquiry, it asked Moore to submit his observations to the territorial and Indian Affairs administrations. Moore's report was somewhat mitigated by the fact that his visits to the district's schools took place during the summer; in fact he made it clear that his comments were not to be considered as a "formal report."²⁰⁶ Two years later, when J. MacKinnon was appointed inspector of territorial schools, the district's schools received their first formal inspection, an event of some significance for a school like Providence, which had not been subjected to such an inquiry for nearly eighty years.²⁰⁷

The general character of the curriculum of mission schools has already been noted.²⁰⁸ During the 1920's the Oblate Indian Commission negotiated with Ferrier and Scott concerning a common curriculum for Catholic Indian schools. While the department was "sympathetic" to the idea, the course of studies never materialized.²⁰⁹ Breynat, among others,²¹⁰ showed no interest in this project; indeed, it would have been superfluous in the Mackenzie, where the schools, with the possible exception of Fort Smith, could follow any curriculum they wished. Except for occasional directives from the department,

such as one in 1936 which asked the teachers to point out there was no "basis for a superstition against killing wolves,"²¹¹ or recommendations to the effect that pupils spend "one-half day in the classroom and one-half at work on the school farm,"²¹² the schools were on their own. After admitting that "the standard of instruction provided in the Northwest Territories is not as high as in Indian Schools throughout the Provinces," the Council, in 1939, made the following recommendations concerning curriculum: the schools should (1) obtain information regarding correspondence courses from the provinces; (2) provide for considerable periods of instruction in manual training; and (3) provide the department with information concerning the course of studies being taught.²¹³ Three years later, after receiving a report from a police official in the Mackenzie, Hoey wrote Sister Souka (principal, Fort Providence), quoting his informant:

'I wish to point out once again that beyond the ability to read and write and a knowledge of figures which all of these children now possess, any future education is unnecessary and of no particular benefit in the sort of life which they must inevitably lead.'

Fully agreeing with his informant's opinion, Hoey advised Souka of what the department considered to be an appropriate curriculum:

The Officials here are inclined to believe that the course of study should be confined largely to reading, writing and arithmetic plus a certain amount of manual training for boys and a certain amount of practical training for girls. Health habits, of course should be fully emphasized.²¹⁴

1. There is no record that the church charged day school fees; however in the case of whites and non-destitute Métis, the normal fee for residential school attendance was ten dollars a month. G. Breynat, "Reglements concernant Les Ecoles," June 20, 1941, Divine Providence, SGM, xxix, 2.
2. This is Andrew Moore's assessment which is examined in detail in chapter VIII.
3. Lesage, 114. Lesage's comments were prompted in part by a letter to him, dated September 3, 1954 from M. Hardie (a Roman Catholic and the first member of parliament [Liberal] for the new constituency of Mackenzie River, 1952) in which Hardie stated that children educated in mission schools "were unfit to make a living." Ibid., 140.
4. Vide supra, 54.
5. Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth (Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1936), 4-5. Other portions of this encyclical will be cited in later discussions.
6. Ibid., 5. The quotation is taken from Prov. XXII, 6.
7. In a report on his visit down the Mackenzie in 1938, A. H. Perry (district engineer, Department of Mines and Resources) noted that Catholic missionaries were giving some instruction (primarily catechetical) to Indian children at such places as Fort Rae, Hay River and Fort Norman. A. H. Perry, "Report," Minutes, 1545, 1555, 1560, VI.
8. The standard pattern was an Indian Affairs grade placement system that had the following relationships to grades:

Standard	1	2	3	4	5	6
Grade	1	2	3	4-5	6-7	8-10

Annual Survey of Education in Canada, 1926 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1928), 34. For an abbreviated outline of the standard schedule, vide Appendix B.
9. ARDIA, 1922-1936, passim; ARDMR (IAB), 1936-1944, passim.
10. The Anglican school received a grant effective October 1, 1933. Minutes, March 15, 1934, V, 485. By 1938, there was dissatisfaction with the school and the administration informed both G. H. Ling, the Anglican missionary, and Bishop Sovereign "of reports which had been received which indicated that the Anglican school was not imparting adequate instruction to the pupils." Minutes, December 16, 1938, VI. In 1941 a non-sectarian school was organized to replace the Anglican one by a group of Fort Smith residents. J. W. MacKinnon,

(inspector of schools, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), "Survey of Education Facilities in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories" (Ottawa: Department of Mines and Resources, 1947), 86 (mimeographed).

11. The Anglican school at Fort Simpson was reopened in 1936 by Rev. Cook. Quarterly Report, December 31, 1936, File # 17 (Fort Simpson Anglican day school), NANR, Fort Smith.
12. "Schools in the N.W.T." Précis for the Northwest Territories Council, Minutes, April 24, 1944.
13. These are detailed figures provided by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and are quoted in MacKinnon, 12-14.
14. As a few children from the Smith and Simpson areas attended the residential schools at Providence and Resolution, the percentage attendance would be a little higher. Vide W. A. Leising (Oblate missionary), Arctic Wings (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1959) for an account of how he and Father A. Mansoz tried to improve school attendance in the Fort Smith area. They both believed that residential schools were the only solution to the attendance problem. Ibid., 34-35.
15. Information concerning teachers at both schools and their certification was obtained from the following: ARDIA, 1922, 1935 passim; ARDMR, 1936-1939, passim; Lachance to Dugas (superior general). August 14, 1929, Smith Historique, SGM, XLVIII. Breynat to Piché, (superior general), Edmonton, June 11, 1931, Ibid., XLIX; MacKinnon, 82, 84.
16. Teaching appointments were recognized by the Indian Affairs Branch, but these notices appear to be nothing more than a matter of form. Vide T. R. MacInnes (acting secretary, Department of Indian Affairs) to Sr. Gamache, July 28, 1938, Ecole St. Marguerite File, Sacred Heart Mission, Fort Simpson; R. Hoey (superintendent of welfare training, Indian Affairs), to Sr. Sarrasin, November 3, 1943, ibid.
17. Vide infra, 282.
18. M. Meikle (district agent, NTY, Fort Smith), noted that "Sister Gregorie [sic] said she...has no certificate although she has taught many years in separate schools." M. Meikle - "Extract from Report," June 16, 1943, 630-100-3 (Fort Smith Catholic day school), NANR, 220, PAC.
19. Vide RG22 A1, NANR, 214, 610-5, PAC, passim.
20. The Indian Affairs curriculum, like the standard system, was printed on the back of Indian Affairs school registers. For an abbreviated version of this curriculum as well as the standard

system, vide Appendix B .

21. On February 3, 1932, the Northwest Territories Council allowed a grant of \$650.00 per annum to the Catholic school at Fort Smith provided the Alberta curriculum was taught and that the teacher was properly certificated.
22. In 1944, Sister O. Sarrasin (teacher at Fort Simpson) submitted a copy of her timetable to A. Moore, who judged it to be an adapted version of the Alberta curriculum. A. Moore "Report of an Education Survey Conducted in the Mackenzie District of the Canadian Northwest Territories During the Months of July and August, 1944," manuscript copy in files of Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Education Division, Fort Smith, 1944, 22. Cited hereinafter as Moore, manuscript. For a discussion of the Moore report, vide infra, chapter VIII.
23. Both schools were visited by Indian Affairs and Northwest Territories officials but there is no evidence that they submitted any formal reports on either school during the 1922-1944 period. Moore's analysis was not carried out while school was in session. J. W. MacKinnon made the first formal inspection of both schools in the fall of 1946. For an analysis of his report, vide infra, 394.
24. Moore, manuscript, Appendix G. (b). M. Meikle, "Extract from Report," 630-100-3 (Fort Smith Catholic school), NANR, 220, PAC.
25. Vide requisitions submitted by the Roman Catholic school at Fort Smith to the Northwest Territories administration in March, 1941, May 1943, and April 1944 in File 630-100-3 (NANR), 220, PAC.
26. During the 1942-1943 term at Aklavik only nine of sixty-seven pupils enrolled were externs. Voice of Our School (Aklavik Newsletter), July 1943, I. The older residences had larger numbers of day pupils; Providence, for example enrolled twenty externs in 1930. O. Sarrasin (Fort Providence), to A. Piché (superior general), December 1, 1930, Providence SGM, cc.111.
27. ARDIA, 1922-1936, passim; ARDMR (IAB), 1937-1944, passim.
28. At least two weeks were taken from school terms at Providence each year for unloading fish and for planting and harvesting potatoes. Vide Registers (Providence), 1922-1944. At Aklavik pupils were away from school for longer periods of time trapping muskrats and snaring hares, and in some cases were returned to their families for these seasons. Voice of Our School, July 1943, I, July 1944, II, July 1945, III. Regular school days were also used for retreats for both teaching staff and pupils. Ibid.

29. For a discussion of Indian and territorial admission criteria and its effect on school retention and enrollment, vide infra, 186.
30. A typical entrant of this kind would have been Baptiste Cazon (Fort Simpson) who recalled that he was sent at the age of eleven to Providence residential school where he spent "about five years." "Dene Gondiae," South Mackenzie River News, February 9, 1968 (mimeographed).
31. "Quinze grades jeunes filles montagnaises Chipewyan sont demeurées volontairement au couvent St. Joseph [Fort Resolution], après avoir terminé leur classes." H. Clerisse, Du Grand Nord à l'Atlas (Paris: Edition Jules Tallendier; 1938), 154.
32. Before his retirement, Breynat had sent about ten mission school pupils to Catholic institutions in the provinces for additional academic or vocational training. One of them, J. Lafferty of Fort Rae, was ordained an Oblate priest. Statement by J. Pochat-Cotilloux rector, Grandin College, Fort Smith, N.W.T. , personal interview, July 20, 1966 .
33. Of the forty-nine children listed on the Fort Providence register for the March, 1925 quarter, thirty-two began school when they were eight years or older. Register (Providence), March 31, 1925.
34. Most white children lived in one of the administrative centres where there was a choice of schools, or in Yellowknife where a day school was established in 1939 (vide infra, 299). Parents of white children in settlements where there were no educational facilities usually made arrangements similar to those advocated by the Hudson's Bay Company, correspondence lessons to ten years of age, and then further schooling in a southern centre. R. Bonnycastle (personnel manager, H.B.C.) to A. Moore, September 26, 1944, Moore, manuscript, 90. Before Métis children could secure government boarding-school subsidies, their parents had to be declared indigent by an RCMP officer. From 1940 to 1944 an average of twelve children were so assigned at Resolution, one of the main Métis settlements. 630-110-3 (Fort Resolution Residential School), December 1939 to March 1944, NANR, 222, PAC.
35. This was particularly true of Eskimo children: "Four scholars are returning to their parents along the Coast, after four, five, and seven years spent in our midst." Voice of Our School, July, 1946, IV.
36. These calculations are approximate and are based on MacKinnon's data and the 1944 Council précis (vide supra, n.12).
37. Data for teacher assignments and qualifications was obtained

from the following: ARDIA 1922-1936, passim; ARDMR (IAB) 1937-1939, passim; MacKinnon, 77, 81, 82; Inspector's Report File (1950-1953) AVM, passim; Aklavik Historique, Providence Historique, and Resolution Historique, SGM, passim.

38. 630/101-3 (Fort Resolution), December, 1940-December, 1948, NANR, Fort Smith; File #17 (Fort Providence), June 1940-September 1948, NANR, Fort Smith.
39. Sister J. Dussault began teaching prayers and other lessons in French upon her arrival in Aklavik in 1935, but she soon reverted to English instruction. Statement by Sr. J. Dussault (Fort Smith), personal interview, October 2, 1965.
40. Moore, manuscript. 22.
41. Clerisse, 154.
42. Lesage to Deschatelets, March 19, 1941, Providence File, Lesage Papers.
43. Breynat, "Reglement Des Ecoles," Divine Providence, SGM, xxva.
44. "Text Books and Supplementary Reading" (Fort Providence 1943-1944), Moore, manuscript, 87.
45. Treaty No. 11, 7.
46. For a review of the sections of the Indian Act that pertained to denominational schooling rights, vide supra, 68. Vide Revised Statutes of Canada, c.98, ss.9 and 100 (1927) for their classification during the period.
47. Two amendments were passed in 1930, the third in 1933, The first permitted the superintendent general to apply a boarding school child's annuity (five dollars per annum) toward the cost of his school maintenance. Statutes of Canada, 20-21 Geo. V, c.25, s.2(1930). The second raised the compulsory school age from fifteen to sixteen. Ibid., s.3. The third empowered RCMP personnel to act as truant officers Ibid., c.24, s.1 (1933). There is no record that any of these provisions were utilized or enforced in the Mackenzie during the period under discussion.
48. For the distribution of Catholic bands, vide supra, 139.
49. Vide supra, 140.
50. During the 1920's Father Guy often made representations concerning Oblate Indian mission interests to the Department of Indian Affairs. A senior liaison committee was convened in 1936, when Guy, then vicar apostolic of Grouard, along with several Oblate bishops, including Breynat, formed the Oblate

Indian Missions Commission. This body made frequent reviews of the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs, and whenever necessary, sought to correct any deficiencies or excesses found in them, either through formal submissions to senior officials of the department and members of the government, or less formally through Father J. Plourde, its official representative in Ottawa. Comité des Mission Indiennes des Peres Oblats, AVM, passim.

51. Breynat, III, 69-70.

52. Scott's annual report gives no hint of the difficulties of the Aklavik project:

The Roman Catholic Church, at its own expense, erected a boarding school for Indian children at Aklavik, in the Mackenzie Delta, N.W.T. The Department has agreed to pay a per capita grant. ARDIA, 1927, 4. The grant was retroactive to July 1, 1926. E. Grantham, "Grants for Mission Schools-N.W.T.," March 31, 1953. File 600-4 (Grants), NANR, Records Centre (Ottawa). Cited hereinafter as RCO.

53. Stewart to M. Martin, M. Martin Files, II, AVM.

54. Vide supra, 73.

55. The Anglican Residential school (All Saints) opened on August 26, 1936, and was in receipt of government assistance from that date ARDMR (IAB), 1937, 227.

56. McGill to "Heads of Church Organizations Conducting Indian Residential Schools," April 19, 1934, Grantham Papers, TAU.

57. A summary of the logistics of the establishment of the Anglican residential school at Aklavik is recorded in the Minutes of the fifty-ninth session of Council:

Correspondence received from...the Department of Indian Affairs shows that the Mission has been in touch with the Department and suggested the Hay River Indian School be combined in a new building to be erected at Aklavik or some other point in the Mackenzie Delta.

The understanding reached is that the Mission would be allowed a period of three years from May 1st, 1935, to erect the necessary buildings and the capital expenditure would be provided by the Mission. The Department...has agreed to continue the per capita for the same number of Indian children as provided for at the present Hay River Indian Residential School. The Department has also agreed to provide a grant for an increase of twenty in the present number of pupils, the increase to be made in two stages (1935, 1936). Minutes, passim.

58. A rough draft of the petition dated May 10, 1936, was located among the Lesage Papers. In August, 1936, the argument for a residential school was reiterated by H. Hodgson, one of the residents of the community. Hodgson to L. Turner (assistant chairman, Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch), August 1, 1936, ibid.
59. Council considered the petition and Christiansen's report on December 29, 1936, deciding "as no action appeared necessary for the time being...the item should stand." Minutes, December 29, 1936, IV.
60. Minutes, March 23, 1937, IV.
61. R. Gibson, "Extract from the Report of Inspection Trip... to the Mackenzie District, August, 1938" 630/114-1 (Fort Norman), I, NANR, 224, PAC.
62. Bourget to Breynat, January 10, 1929, Indian Affairs File, AVM.
63. Breynat, "Memorandum on the Physical and Economic Condition of the NorthWest Territory Indians," November 1936, Breynat Papers, AVM.
64. For a discussion of government operating and capital allowances, vide infra, 193.
65. Part of long memorandum on native condition and rights was published in the Toronto Daily Star, vide supra, n.63. Ten submissions from Breynat concerning native conditions are recorded in Council minutes from 1932 to 1941. Minutes II-XII, passim. Breynat wrote the Governor-General on December 1, 1940, outlining native conditions (letter not seen). On January 20, 1941, R. MacInnes (secretary, Indian Affairs Branch) wrote Breynat regarding his submission, giving in some detail the policy of the branch in regard to education, hospitalization and general welfare of Indian population in the Northwest Territories. Breynat noted "Peu de satisfaction" on MacInnes' three page response. MacInnes to Breynat, January 20, 1941, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM.
66. Breynat to Guy, May 1, 1940, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM. Breynat was particularly annoyed because Father Plourde, who was stationed in Winnipeg, was never in Ottawa when Breynat visited the capital.
67. Revised Statutes of Canada, c.98, s.10 (1927).
68. Scott to Guy, December 24, 1921, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM.
69. Guy to Breynat, January 15, 1922, ibid.

70. Guy to Scott, February 15, 1922, ibid.
71. Guy to Breynat, April 3, 1922, ibid. Guy believed the department's reversal to be a most significant event:

Je considère le règlement de cette question comme le plus grand des services que j'ai rendu à date à la cause de missions car la nouvelle attitude de Gouvernement va avoir sa répercussion sur l'avenir de plusieurs écoles et districts. Ibid.
72. Scott to Guy, October 16, 1922, ibid.
73. Gouin to Floc'l, December 7, 1922, ibid.
74. The three schools were: Hay River (Anglican), Fort Providence (Catholic), and Fort Resolution (Catholic). Some Anglican children were enrolled at the Catholic residences, as were the Tetso children of Fort Simpson: "Although not of our faith, in 1930 [the Tetso parents] ... begged the privilege of sending Johnny and his younger brother Freddy to our boarding school at Fort Providence." Fr. J. Turcotte in J. Tetso, Trapping is My Life (Fort Simpson: Sacred Heart Mission, 1964) ij.
75. Breynat to Piché, June 11, 1931, Smith Histoire, SGM, xlix.
76. For a discussion on the Anglican and public schools, vide infra, 277. The same type of social or racial segregation also occurred at Yellowknife, vide infra, 299.
77. Breynat to Piché, June 11, 1931, Smith Histoire, SGM, xlix.
78. Gibson to Breynat, October 8, 1937, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM.
79. Minutes, September 23, 1937, 957, IV.
80. Gibson to Breynat, October 8, 1937, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM.
81. Breynat to Camsell, June 30, 1941, Ecoles AVM.
82. Camsell to Breynat, July 10, 1941, ibid.
83. Though Breynat's letter to Camsell is somewhat vague, his concluding remarks indicated that he sought an interpretation rather than a revision: "After carefully studying this paragraph [section 10 of the Act], I really hope that the Department will find its way to give it a more liberal consideration." Breynat to Camsell, June 30, 1941, ibid.
84. "En 1924, L'Honorable Ministre de la Justice, Sir Lomer Gouin, donna comme suit, une interprétation authentique de l'Acte Indien: 'Sera réputé catholique tout enfant dont les parents ont déclaré qu'ils voulaient le faire instruire dans une école catholique et sous l'autorité de l'Eglise Catholique. C'est

la volonté des parents qui fera choisir leur enfant dans une religion, protestante ou catholique, selon qu'ils déclareront vouloir le faire instruire dans une école de l'une ou l'autre confession religieuse.'" Convention des Principaux et des Soeurs Supérieures et Institutrices des Pensionnats Indiens des Provinces du Manitoba, de la Saskatchewan, et de l'Aberta [sic] Tenue à S. Boniface, Man., Les 24, 25, et 26 Novembre 1942, 12, AVM (mimeographed). Cited hereinafter as Convention, 1942, St. Boniface. A copy of the minutes was forwarded to Breynat in January, 1943, J. Plourde (general superintendent, Indian Welfare and Training Oblate Commission) to Breynat, January 25, 1943, Ecoles Indiennes AVM.

85. The convention passed the following resolution: 7. Que demande soit faite au Ministère des Mines et des Ressources (Affaires Indiennes) de reconnaître le droit naturel des parents d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école catholique ou protestante, selon leur choix, avec cette limite, à savoir: que les enfants ne puissent pas changer d'école pendant l'année scolaire. Convention, 1942, St. Boniface.
86. Specifically, the Supreme Court unanimously affirmed that the "term 'Indians' as used in head 24 of s. 91 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, be interpreted to include the Eskimo inhabitants of Quebec." Dominion Law Reports (1939), IV, 418. However, the judgement's construction was such that all Eskimo would be so classified. Ibid. 417-436.
87. The Northwest Territories and Yukon Bureau paid for the maintenance of Eskimo children at the Aklavik residential school and made no stipulation as to the religion of the pupil. For a discussion of Eskimo subsidies, vide infra, 239.

If the Guin principle was not upheld, it was quite possible that the Aklavik foundation, insofar as its Eskimo enrollment was concerned, would encounter the same difficulties as the Catholic school at Fort George, Quebec. Built in 1930 the Fort George residential school took in Anglican Indian children with the hope that it could give "de meilleurs résultats," in what had otherwise been a barren missionary area. (Convention, 1942, St. Boniface, 14). In 1932, the Anglicans built a school to counteract the influence of the Catholic one. A continuous debate began regarding school assignment, which the government, albeit reluctantly, attempted to arbitrate by means of school subsidies. In 1937, as a temporary expedient, Anglican children at the Catholic school (St. Thérèse) were listed as aboriginal believers, and it was left to the Anglicans "prouver pour chaque cas que ces enfants ont été baptisés dans la religion protestante" (Missions Indiennes de Pères Oblats, Troisième Réunion, Ottawa, November, 1937, AVM, [mimeographed]). By 1942, the Catholic school received grants for twenty of its predominantly Anglican enrollment of forty. If the Guin interpretation was not sustained, the government

would be required to withdraw practically all subsidies paid to St. Thérèse. Inevitably, the same action would be taken in regard to those Anglican Eskimos enrolled at Immaculate Conception, Aklavik.

88. For a discussion of the 1910 agreement, vide supra, 88.
89. The 1910 contract "determined the relationship of the department with the boarding schools for the next twenty years." H. J. Valery "A History of Indian Education in Canada," (unpublished Master's thesis, Queen's University, 1942), 151. Government subsidies, rather than school regulation were, however, the department's main control instrument.
90. According to Section II, clause 2, of the agreement, the superintendent general of Indian Affairs agreed "to provide the pupils of the said school with medicines, school books, stationery, and school appliances." "Contract between Department of Indian Affairs and the Management of Indian Boarding Schools," ARDIA, 1911, 442. The degree to which this was done in the Mackenzie will be noted in the section on school grants, vide infra, 193.
91. "Applicants for Admission to Residential Schools," Indian Affairs Form, No. 61. Cited hereinafter as Form 61 (IAB).
92. Estimate based on data cited in Table VI, vide supra, 166.
93. C. Hobart, "Eskimos in Residential Schools in the Mackenzie District," 1965 (draft copy), chapter 4.
94. Carney, "Survey," passim.
95. Faillaize to J. Turner (director, Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch), March 2, 1936, Rapports 1921-1936, AVM.
96. Westgate "Indian Education Suggestions - for Improving the Prevailing System," (Joint-church Submission to Crerar), November 21, 1938, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM (mimeographed).
97. Breynat "The Physical and Economic Conditions of the North West Territory Indians." November 1936, Breynat Papers, AVM.
98. Breynat, "Memorandum on Indians in the Mackenzie," III, 1936, Breynat Papers, AVM.
99. Breynat, "The Physical and Economic Conditions of the North West Territory Indians," November 1936, Breynat Papers, AVM.
 The upkeep of small boarding schools is too great on account of the general expenses [sic] and experience shows that should the Indians have a boarding school near to every trading post, they would wtil [sic] feel slow in sending their children, especially when they

have plenty of Cariboo around their camps. Ibid.

100. Providence, Register, September 30, 1930.
101. A sister at Resolution described one of the new recruits:
C'est le plus miserable que j'ai encore vue, il
étant toutgrelottant, sans bas ni chapeau, seulement
un pantalon tout en lambeaux et une guenille en guise
de chemise, le tout bien tapisse de vermine, ses
épaules et son dos en portent de nombreuses marques....
Sister Rouleau to Mother Dugas (superior general),
September 12, 1922, Resolution Historique, SGM, xxxv.
102. Une de nos grandes filles est minée par la tuberculose,...
peu de espoir. Sr. St. Omer (Fort Resolution) to Mother
Piche (superior general), December 14, 1931, ibid. xxiv.
For the department view of enrolling tubercular children,
vide infra, 192.
103. Providence, Register, 1919-1929, passim.
104. S. Lesage? "A Few Reasons for the Establishment of a Boarding
School at Norman," May 10, 1938, Lesage Papers.
105. MacLean to Finnie, December 12, 1922, File 600-4 (NANR),
I-A, RCO. The department paid subsidies until the child
reached his sixteenth birthday. Same to same, ibid.
106. Scott to Harris, Card, Bourget (Indian agents, Mackenzie)
October 23, 1923 (circular) Ecoles Indiennes, AVM.
107. Assistance to ex-pupils of the residential schools was usually
of the kind allowed three boys and two girls in 1913: "To
Boys, one 30/30 rifle, one double barrellled gun-ammunition, traps
and twine. To girls-sewing kit, needles, and beads, not to
exceed \$50.00." MacLean to Breynat, May 17, 1913, ibid.
108. Scott to Breynat, October 17, 1923, ibid.
109. Revised Statutes of Canada, c.98, s.10 (1927); Statutes
of Canada, 20-21 Geo. V, c.25, s.3 (1930):and ibid., 23-24
Geo. V. c.28, s.1 (1932-1933).
110. "Extract of Special Session" 600-4 (school grants), NANR, I,
RCO.
111. McDougal to Hume, September 11, 1933, ibid.
112. "Extract from the Minutes of the fifty-third Session of Council,"
October 17, 1934, ibid.
113. "Extract from the Minutes of the fifty-fourth Session of Council,"

November 26, 1934, ibid.

114. Turner to Urquhart, September 27, 1935, ibid.
115. "Extract from the Minutes of the fifty-third Session of Council," October 17, 1934, ibid.
116. "Extract from the Minutes of the fifty-fourth Session of Council," November 26, 1934, ibid.
117. A. Mackenzie (Indian Affairs) to Principals, Aklavik, Fort Providence, and Fort Resolution, March 12, 1934, ibid.
Mackenzie noted that "no grant can be allowed for them during such absences, unless they remain at school during the summer months." Ibid. How closely the schools complied with these regulations is not known, but there is evidence that the children were dismissed during certain seasons and before the usual school leaving age. "Voice of Our School," Aklavik, I, II, III, passim. Providence, Registers, 1935-1944, passim.
118. Summer holidays were allowed with grants remaining in effect in 1937, making it possible for children to return to their homes both for the summer months and the fall and spring hunting and trapping periods. R. Hoey (Superintendent of Welfare training, Indian Affairs) to Breynat, March 30, 1937, Ecole Indiennes, AVM. However, the department advised principals and other mission authorities not to allow the children to return home for the summer, "unless special safeguards concerning their return can be made." Hoey to church authorities, March 30, 1937, ibid.
119. "Extracts from the fifty-sixth Session of Council," February 25, 1935, 600-4 (NANR), I-A, RCO.
120. ARDIA, 1911, 440.
121. G. J. Wherrett, "Health Conditions and Services in the North-West," in C. A. Dawson ed., The New North-West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 237. Indians of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, 1964) 24. An annual grant of two hundred dollars for dental services for the two hundred children at the Anglican and Catholic schools at Aklavik was passed by Council in May 1941. There is no record that similar allowances were made for the Resolution or Providence schools. Minutes, May 21, 1941, 2531, XI. Seriously ill children were either sent to one of the mission hospitals or were placed in the school's sick bay. Wherrett, 236.
122. "Report of Committee on Tuberculosis Among Indians," conference sponsored by R. Crerar (minister of Mines and Resources), Ottawa, 1937, in Minutes, June 23, 1937, 975, IV.

123. Dr. E. Stone, "Report on Tuberculosis," in Minutes, December 7, 1937, 1125, IV.
124. Wherrett, 237.
125. J. MacRae, "Notes of Interview Between Father Ladousalle and J. MacRae," August 5, 1900, IAB, 398; J. MacRae, "Notes of Interview Between Bishop Grouard and J. MacRae," September 10, 1900, ibid. For a review of these discussions, vide supra, 82.
126. McLean to Finnie, December 21, 1922, 600-4 (NANR) I-A, RCO.
127. Vide supra, 161.
128. Auditor General's Report, March 31, 1932, 1-39; ibid., March 31, 1937, L-83. Cited hereinafter as AGR.
129. AGR, 1922-1944, passim.
130. McGill's dictum was noted in a letter from Turner to Gibson August 22, 1936, 630/114-1 (Fort Norman), I, NANR, 224, PAC.
131. R. Hoey to Father J. Serrurot (bursar, Mackenzie vicariate), August 27, 1940, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM. Owing to the war, Indian schools were to be operated on a nine rather than a ten month basis; consequently one-tenth of the yearly salary was being withheld.
132. In 1921, the total day school enrollment was 7,775; in 1944, it was 7,758. Though the number of residential schools increased only slightly, from seventy-two in 1921 to seventy-five in 1944, residential enrollment increased substantially, from 4,783 in 1921 to 8,729 in 1944. ARDIA, 1921, 74, ARDMR(IAB), 1944, 177.
133. For an excellent analysis of the role of day and residential schools in the mid-1930's, vide Board of Home Missions (United Church of Canada), "Report of Commission on Indian Education," April, 1937 (mimeographed). While noting that Indian day and improved day schools had certain advantages, the commission concluded that residential schools "will have to carry most of the burden of educating Indian children" for at least another "generation." Ibid., 15.
134. K. Beaton (secretary, joint church committee), "Memorandum of Meeting of Church Officials Cooperating with the Department of Indian Affairs," December 20, 1934, Commission Oblate des Oeuvres Indiennes, AVM. Cited hereinafter as COOI. Five Catholic representatives were members of the joint committee which also represented Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church interests. Ibid.

135. ARDIA, 1931, 13; ARDIA, 1935, 12; ARDMR (IAB), 1944, 156.
136. In 1921, the per capita cost of day schools was \$21.74 of residential schools, \$190.74. E. Jameson, "Indian Education in Canada" (unpublished Master's thesis, McMaster University, 1923?), n.p. By 1939, the difference had narrowed to about one-third. Vide Table VII supra, 166.
137. ARDMR (IAB), 166. The number of Indian children of school age 7 to 16) not in school in 1941 was 9,193. Reverent G. Dorey, "Memorandum on Indian Education and Welfare," submitted to G. Crerar (minister of Mines and Resources) on behalf of a joint-church committee, January 12, 1943, Commission Oblate des Oeuvres Indiennes, AVM (mimeographed). Cited hereinafter as Dorey, "Memorandum," January, 1943. Two days after Dorey's submission, Plourde had an interview with Crerar. In a note to Breynat he recorded the Minister's reaction:
 Il me fit part l'impression un peu pénible que le rapport avait produit sur lui, mais comme l'exposé de nos griefs était basé sur les chiffres officiels du Gouvernement, il fit bien obligé d'admettre le bien fondé de nos réclamations. Plourde to Breynat, February? 1943, COOI, AVM.
138. In 1944, forty-five of the seventy-five residential schools were Roman Catholic. ARDMR (IAB), 177. The Catholic position in regard to residential schools was unanimously affirmed at a meeting of the Oblate Indian Commission in October 1939:
 Que là où les Indiens sont nomades ou dispersés, l'école-pensionnat est la seule possible; b) Qu'elle est la seule désirable presque partout pour refaire la santé de l'indien compromise trop souvent par la tuberculose ou d'autres maladies; pour former l'Indien à de meilleurs moeurs, la promiscuité dans les tentes et la plupart des maisons indiennes y étant, un milieu peut favorable. Minutes, "Renunion de Comité des Missions Indiennes des Pères Oblates," October 12, 1939, COOI, AVM.
139. One of the department's public utterances to the effect that schools were "conducted under the joint auspices of the government and the churches, practically the entire cost being paid from public funds" (T. MacInnes Indian Affairs Branch, "History of Indian Administration in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science [August, 1946], XII, 389) contrasts markedly with reports of substantial financial losses suffered by the churches in the operation of schools in Dorey's submission. Vide supra, n. 137.
140. Authorized pupilages were reviewed by Council in January 1939 and April, 1944 "Memorandum for the Northwest Territories Council," Minutes, January 10, 1939, VII, "Schools in the N.W.T.," ibid., April 24, 1944, XII. Data for increases in authorized pupilages was taken from the following: Breynat to Scott, September 21, 1927, October 22, 1929, Ecoles Indiennes, (Grants), AVM, Scott

to Breynat, September 29, 1927, November 13, 1929, November 18, 1929, ibid.

141. According to Father T. Ehman there was a "verbal agreement by which we may have a greater number of children at school than is actually legislated by the Department." Ehman to Faillaize, March 13, 1939, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM. What Ehman probably had in mind was the aggregate arrangement arrived at in 1927, in which a school could claim unused per capita grants of another school, whenever it enrolled more than its authorized pupilage. Scott to Breynat, September, 1927, AVM. Indian Affairs reports indicate that though authorized pupilages were exceeded, average daily attendance figures seldom reached grant quotas, ARDIA, 1922-1936, passim, ARDMR (IAB), 1937-1944, passim. For a summary of these grants, vide supra, Table VI, 166.
142. AGR 1922-1928, passim.
143. Scott to Breynat, March 29, 1932, EI(G), AVM.
144. AGR, 1933, 1-25.
145. "On April 27, 1932 the Prime Minister received a delegation and very graciously promised to give this whole subject his personal attention." Beaton, Memorandum, December 20, 1934, AVM.
146. Scott to Breynat, February 22, 1933, EI(G), AVM.
147. Breynat to McGill, March 2, 1935, EI(G), AVM, McGill to Breynat, March 16, 1935, Ecoles Indiennes, AVM.
148. Beaton, Memorandum, December 20, 1934.
149. A. MacKenzie (secretary, Indian Affairs) January 14, 1936, EI, AVM.
150. Deuxième Réunion du Comité Directeur des Missions Indiennes des Pères Oblats, November 23-24, 1936, COOI, AVM.
151. Dorey "Memorandum," January, 1943.
152. Breynat's complaints were reviewed in a letter to him from MacInnes, January 20, 1941, COOI, AVM.
153. Plourde kept Breynat informed either through personal letters or by circulars. Vide COOI 1940-1944, AVM, passim.
154. AGR, 1941-1944, passim.
155. ARDIA, 1911, 440.

156. Scott to Breynat, October 20, 1922, EI, AVM.
157. McLean to Finnie, December 21, 1922 600-4 (Grants), NANR, I-A, RCO.
158. AGR, 1922-1944 passim. Breynat, "Canada's Blackest Blot," 1936, Breynat Papers, AVM.
159. Ibid.
160. The church argued to "maintain the buildings at the said school and the school premises...in good condition and repair." The government contracted to do the above only when the schooling buildings were "the property of the government." ARDIA, 1911, 441-442.
161. AGR, 1922-1930, passim.
162. Ibid., 1931-1944, passim.
163. Plourde to Crerar, June 12, 1940, COOI, AVM.
164. Hoey to Serrurot, March 4, 1939, Ecoles, AVM.
165. Serrurot to Phelan, November 12, 1939, October 31, 1940, ibid.
166. Plourde to Breynat, August 8, 1941, COOI, AVM. Breynat made the following notations to his secretary on the above:
"Mentionnez que j'ai quitte le comitée."
167. AGR 1943-1944, J-45, J-32-33.
168. Plourde to Trocellier, August 27, 1943, COOI, AVM.
169. ARDMR (IAB) 1939-1945, passim.
170. ARDIA 1922-1936, passim; ARDMR (IAB) 1937-1938, passim.
171. Vide supra, 187.
172. Vide infra, 173.
173. C. Stewart, T. Murphy, and R. Crerar were the principal superintendents general of Indian Affairs from 1920 to 1945; the other two ministers, Sir James Loughheed and R. B. Bennett held the post for short periods. Canada Year Book 1920-1945, passim.
174. "...I here beg to acknowledge the great service which your missions and schools have rendered to the Indians." Scott to Breynat, March 3, 1932, EI, AVM. "I consider the opinions you express upon the matter of Indian education would seem

to rest upon a very sound basis and your long experience in Indian work has enabled you to observe the working out of these theories in actual practice." McGill to Breynat, May 16, 1935, ibid.

175. Breynat, "Memorandum," 1932?, Gouvernement Divers, AVM.
176. Breynat to P. R. Manion (minister of Railways), February 7, 1935, ibid.
177. "Memorandum for the Northwest Territories Council," Minutes, January 10, 1939, VII.
178. For a discussion of Card's support for mission hospitals, vide supra, 89.
179. Breynat to Dr. Quesnel (applicant for an agent's position, Indian Affairs), February 14, 1938, Agences Indiennes, AVM.
180. Breynat to R. B. Bennett, April 5, 1932, ibid; McGill to Breynat, June 28, 1940, ibid.
181. "The Secretary [McKeand, an Anglican] reported that the Anglican mission authorities were anxious to have their recommendations accepted in connection with the appointment of medical officers in the Northwest Territories. Dr. Stone said that although he had received his first appointment through or from the church he did not favour such a practice." Minutes February 8, 1933, II.
182. Harvey to Gibson, September 12, 1945, 630/114-1 (Fort Norman), I 224, PAC.
183. Scott to Principals, Fort Resolution, Fort Providence, March 12, 1914, EI, AVM.
184. Ferrier to Indian Agents (Mackenzie), May 14, 1932, ibid. Breynat received a copy of this circular. He could not see what relevance Ferrier's suggestion had to the Mackenzie where ex-pupils almost without exception returned to the traditional way of life. Breynat to Ferrier, June 1, 1932. ibid.
185. Head to Hoey, June 19, 1937, ibid.
186. Hoey to Breynat, June 17, 1938, ibid.
187. Breynat to McGill, April 23, 1935, ibid.
188. On September 23, 1941, Dr. Livingston (medical health officer, Aklavik) asked Council to recognize in the form of a "certificate" a course in practical nursing that was being given at Aklavik to one Eskimo and one Indian girl. Council agreed to Livingstone's

request, which made no mention of financial assistance. Minutes September 23, 1941, 2591, XII. At the next meeting of Council, however, Bishop A. Turquetil (Roman Catholic Vicariate of Hudson's Bay) requested Council to recognize a similar programme at Chesterfield (Keewatin) by contributing "toward the cost of their [girls-in-training] maintenance in addition to providing uniforms." As Turquetil's submission included the question of financial subsidies, a committee was formed, under McGill, to give the "matter...careful thought because of its many ramifications." Ibid., October 9, 1941, 2602, XII.

189. Ibid.
190. The committee on the "Training of Indian Girls in the Northwest Territories" recommended as follows on November 25, 1941: Mission hospitals would be permitted to provide training to Indian girls in hospitals, but such training would not be subsidized by the department. Ibid., November 25, 1941, 2645-2646, XII. Not only did McGill oppose the payment of "tuition grants" (ibid.) he also wrote Gibson to advise that any certificates given for such courses should be provided by the hospitals and not by the government. McGill to Gibson, Ibid., December 17, 1941; 2684, XII.
191. Ibid., December 23, 1941, 2687-2688, XII. With MacInnes' comment the matter was dropped from Council's agenda.
192. Hoey to Breynat, June 17, 1938, ibid.
193. ARDIA, 1911, 440.
194. For a discussion on the qualifications of the teacher at the Catholic day school at Fort Smith, vide supra, 180.
195. "Memorandum for Northwest Territories Council-Education-NWT," Minutes, January 16, 1939, 1-3, VI.
196. For a discussion of the influence of white residents on territorial schools, vide infra, chap. VII, passim.
197. For the department's curriculum views, vide infra, 210.
198. Hoey to Plourde, confidential, September 14, 1939, EI, AVM.
199. "Reunion du Comité des Missions Indiennes des Peres Oblats," October 12, 1939, COOI, AVM (trans).
200. Breynat to Plourde, May 12, 1940, ibid.
201. Plourde to Breynat, February 17, 1942, COOI, AVM.
202. Convention, St. Boniface, 1942, 26.

203. D. C. Scott, The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1931), 17-18.
204. Such visits were usually brief and were often given to such activities as prizegiving. Observations made on the schools were invariably laudatory. Vide for example, Aklavik Chroniques, 1926-1931, I, 1931-1941, II.
205. 'Memorandum for Northwest Territories Council,' Minutes, January 10, 1939, VI.
206. For a discussion of the Moore Report, vide infra, chap. VIII, passim.
207. For a review of MacKinnon's observations, vide infra, 394.
208. Vide supra, 208 and Appendices B and C.
209. Scott to Guy, April 17, 1926, EI, AVM; Guy to Breynat, June 22, 1926, ibid.
210. At a meeting of Oblate principals at Duck Lake in 1927, Father P. Welch (British Columbia) noted his satisfaction with the British Columbia provincial curriculum, finding in it "nullement offensifs pour la foi des enfants" Convention des Principals des Ecoles Indiennes Catholiques, August, 1927 EI, AVM. There is no indication that Breynat was particularly interested in a common Catholic curriculum. He favoured a programme related to the needs of northern children who had no future other than fishing and hunting: "...un programme spécial prévoyant l'instruction pratique...avec inspecteurs spéciaux." Breynat to Plourde, October 12, 1939, COOI, AVM.
211. Minutes, December 29, 1936, 850, IV.
212. "Seminar-Conference on Indian Affairs - Toronto, September 4-16, 1939," Indian Truth (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, October 1939), XVI, 2-4.
213. 'Memorandum for Northwest Territories Council,' Minutes, January 10, 1939.
214. Hoey to Souka, July 2, 1942, AVM. The name of Hoey's informant is not given.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH, THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT, AND NATIVE SCHOOLING

1921-1945

As the five Catholic schools in the district had substantial Indian enrollments, the church-state educational relationship was, in the first instance, one between the vicariate and the Department of Indian Affairs. These schools, however, registered other classes of children: Eskimo for whom the Indian Affairs Branch accepted no direct responsibility; and white and Métis over whom the branch had no jurisdiction. For these children a second church-state schooling liaison existed between the vicariate and the government of the Northwest Territories. While the liaison continued to be influenced by territorial school ordinances and practices initiated prior to 1921, and while it was affected in subsequent decades by church-Indian Affairs arrangements, church-territorial schooling policies, nevertheless, became more separate and distinguishable during the interbellum and second world war periods.

Before describing the native schooling programmes of the territorial government, some prefatory remarks are necessary concerning the four ethnic categories into which the territorial population was commonly divided. By 1941 most of the Indians and Eskimos of the district had been distinguished by means of official treaty¹ and disc numbers² which entitled them to certain welfare allowances and other privileges, such as trapping and hunting rights, which were especially reserved for aborigines. Despite a Supreme Court ruling (1939) that Eskimos were Indians in terms of the B.N.A.

Act,³ the territorial government did not transfer Eskimo matters to the Indian Affairs Branch, but continued to be held accountable for them, though in no more progressive fashion than that which characterized its activities since 1928.⁴ While the commissioner had been specifically charged with Eskimo affairs, in practice it was the Council that ruled on Eskimo policy.⁵ In February 1939, when R. Gibson (deputy commissioner, Government of the Northwest Territories) suggested that Indian Affairs Branch provide a "few books, pencils, etc.," asked for by missionaries in Arctic Quebec,⁶ his request was refused by H. McGill (deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs) who "did not see how any supplies purchased for Indians could be distributed to Eskimos."⁷ Once the Council noted the Court's ruling (April 6, 1939),⁸ it made no move to effect an intradepartmental transfer of Eskimo affairs from the Northwest Territories and Yukon Bureau to the Indian Affairs Branch. Had it done so, it would have meant that the latter agency, if it followed the dictates of its Indian policy, would have had to negotiate treaties, pay annuities, and raise Eskimo welfare allowances to a level comparable to that being accorded Indians.⁹ The territorial government considered itself answerable for another, though not official, native group, the half-breed or Métis (persons of part Indian or Eskimo ancestry). Some Métis were included in the two official aboriginal groups, but the majority were designated as either Métis or white.¹⁰ White status was ostensibly reserved for those of non-aboriginal ancestry, though there were intimations on the part of several territorial officials that white status, which

included such privileges as liquor permits and poolroom access, would be accorded any native who paid for any direct schooling or medical charges.¹¹

Notwithstanding any legal or administrative ethnic distinction, the territorial government was responsible for the schooling of Eskimo, Métis and white children. The extent of its accountability is given in Table VIII - a distribution that within several percentage points characterized the 1921-1945 period.¹²

TABLE VIII

ESTIMATE OF THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND RELIGIOUS
DENOMINATION OF SCHOOL AGE PUPILS IN THE
MACKENZIE DISTRICT 1941*

<u>Ethnic Composition</u>	<u>School Age Population</u> ¹		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Anglican or Other</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	
Indian	160	840	1000
Eskimo	305	45	350
Métis	20	70	90
White	<u>75</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>130</u>
Totals	560	1010	1570

*Source of Data: Census of Canada, 1941, 170; Urquhart "Eskimos of the Canadian Western Arctic," 282; Wherrett, "Health Conditions and Services in the North-West," 230; ARDMR(IAB), 1941, 180; Statistiques, 1940-1945, AVM, passim.

1. School age population is based on two quinquennial groups: 5-9, 10-14.

The territorial government gradually formulated, though never definitively, school policies for Eskimos, Métis, and whites. Eskimo and Métis policies had many common elements, while the one for white children, especially when a significant number of them resided in a community, was formulated on a different set of premises. Though whites were schooled in mission institutions, a distinctive white

schooling policy is apparent only in special forms of schooling which will be discussed in the next chapter. Métis and Eskimo schooling, on the other hand, invariably existed in a mission context which was influenced by governmental contributory and regulatory decisions. While these decisions were often interrelated, regulatory decisions in themselves, that is, recommendations which were not sustained by subsidies and which as a consequence were viewed as options by either party, warrant a separate discussion. Insofar as the church's non-Indian native schooling programme was concerned, the crucial matter was the terms and the degree of the territorial government subsidy.

1. Territorial Subsidies to Mission Schools

Before examining the extent of residential school allowances, a brief review of day school subsidies will be made in terms of their amount, authorization, and condition.

Day School Grants

The Fort Smith Catholic school was in receipt of a territorial school allowance of \$200.00 from 1916 until 1932,¹³ when the territorial government accorded it quasi-public school status and an increased subsidy of \$450.00.¹⁴ Fort Simpson received the regular day school allowance from July 1, 1926 to 1945. No day school allowances were provided Resolution or Providence, though both enrolled externs. Aklavik received a day school allowance in 1934-1935, but this grant was in lieu of its residential entitlement.¹⁵ Except for special allowances to public schools at Fort Smith and Yellowknife and for payment of several supply requisitions (mainly for Anglican Eskimo day schools),¹⁶ the territorial government considered the annual grant of \$200.00 to be a

maximum and, for the period, unalterable day school subsidy.

Authorization for the subsidy continued to be the old territorial ordinance which permitted grants to schools "whether they were organized according to law or not."¹⁷ In the absence of a form of local assessment, the clause retained its usefulness, but what is noteworthy is that the government never reviewed the sufficiency of the mission day school grant which had been set in 1899,¹⁸ except in 1933 when its reduction was contemplated.¹⁹ Similarly, grant requirements continued to be based on formulations initiated prior to 1921. Payments were issued quarterly on receipt of a form, almost identical to the one previously submitted to the lieutenant-governor at Regina, which required the following: (1) name and place of school; (2) the names and racial status of pupils enrolled and their average daily attendance; (3) subjects taught and the period of instruction; (4) whether or not the school was in receipt of Indian Affairs school grants; and (5) signatures of the teacher, and of a "resident or visiting Minister."²⁰ There is no evidence that a grant was ever refused because of the length of the school day, subjects taught,²¹ or the teacher's qualifications,²² but grants were ordinarily withheld if the average daily attendance of white, Métis, or Eskimo children was less than five.²³

Following the closing of the Anglican school at Fort Simpson in 1926, the Catholic one had no difficulty in obtaining the minimum white and Métis attendance and a territorial day school grant. Thereafter it received the grant regularly despite the fact that its non-Indian attendance occasionally fell below the minimum requirement.²⁴ Like its counterpart in Smith from 1921 to 1932, the Simpson school from 1926 to

1945 enrolled more non-Indian than Indian pupils.²⁵ Both schools, however, received Indian school grants about three times greater than territorial allowances,²⁶ with the result that the schooling of non-Indians was partially, if not substantially, subsidized by Indian school funds. This arrangement, which evoked little comment on the part of either governmental agency, gave Catholic school interests a distinct advantage in the lower Mackenzie. The Anglicans, in such places as Norman, Smith, and Simpson, were not only unable to recruit a sufficient number of Indian pupils to warrant regular Indian school grants,²⁷ but also encountered difficulty in maintaining the territorial non-Indian attendance minimum.²⁸ Whenever the Anglicans were able to secure the minimum level, the territorial grants were such that it was difficult to keep the schools operating. Anglican Eskimo day schools, which were entitled only to the regular territorial subsidy to 1931 and thereafter to a maximum of \$250.00 were similarly hampered.²⁹ Preoccupied with the attendance requirement, the territorial government appeared to be unaware of its denominational ramifications. As for other matters relating to the schooling of its charges in non-public non-residential school centres, the government was uninformed, if not unconcerned.

Residential School Subsidies

Adhering to the practices initiated by the Regina administration and following the attendance requirement of the day school grant, the newly empowered territorial government of 1921 continued to pay the regular residential school grant of \$400.00 to the Anglican school at Hay River and the Catholic institutions at Resolution and Providence.³⁰

This was the extent of the territorial subsidy for all Eskimo, Métis and white children enrolled either as externs or interns at these places from 1921 to 1924. But representations were not long in coming for more substantial assistance. Though the government attempted to resolve such appeals with a common policy, it was only partially successful; and despite its attempts to the contrary, two residential school policies gradually became distinguishable: one for Métis and poor whites, the other for Eskimo. Each of these policies will be discussed separately before an examination of their common and unconnected elements, as well as their denominational significance.

In September 1922, eight Métis children, having been certified as "destitute" by an RCMP constable, were sent by Bishop Breynat to the boarding school at Resolution.³¹ Following this assignment two letters were forwarded to the territorial administration: one from Breynat who asked for a per capita grant of \$165.00 for each child;³² the other from J. F. Moran (territorial officer, Fort Smith) who supported the Bishop's request, noting:

The Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions in the north have, in the past, been keeping these destitute children who do not come under the Indian Treaty Act, and have not been receiving any remuneration for their upkeep from the Northwest Territories.³³

T. L. Cory (legal advisor, Department of the Interior) having been asked by O. S. Finnie, (director, Northwest Territories Branch) to comment on the bishop's petition, wrote:

I understand that the Department of Indian Affairs made an allowance for the children and treaty Indians who are in need, and I do not consider that they are more worthy of assistance than destitute children of non-treaty Indians or whites.

He then suggested the branch contact J. D. McLean (secretary, Department of Indian Affairs) to ascertain the boarding school system of that department with a view to effecting a similar one for territorial interns.³⁴ Following an exchange of correspondence³⁵ between Finnie and McLean, Finnie modified McLean's statements relating to the amount of grants and grant entitlement, and submitted them as a recommended territorial boarding school policy to W. W. Cory (deputy minister of the Interior):

...A per capita grant of \$145.00 per annum [\$20.00 less than the Indian Affairs allowance] for the maintenance of children between the ages of 7 and 15 years (this means they would be struck off upon reaching [their] 16th birthday O.F.) who are declared destitute by the RCMP [non-destitute Indian children were subsidized by the Indian Affairs Department], also the payment of \$80.00 per annum [a mean of the Indian Affairs grant which ranged from \$60.00 to \$100.00] might be authorized for the maintenance of younger children who become orphaned.³⁶

Cory immediately approved Finnie's recommendations,³⁷ and after further representations by Breynat,³⁸ subsidies for the eight children at Resolution were paid as of July 1, 1923. In 1924 submissions from Hay River of three destitutes were approved; three years later, Providence secured similar allowances.³⁹ All such grants were based on the criteria of Finnie's memorandum.⁴⁰

Until the 1930's it cannot be said that there was any real attempt on the part of the territorial government to establish a set of boarding school regulations that were equivalent to those of Indian Affairs. Moreover, its failure to do so had several important implications. First, Indian intern subsidies were usually \$20.00 greater than non-Indian grants, and while the adequacy of either allowance might be debated, that there was a difference is inexplicable.

Second, while Indian Affairs advised that orphaned or destitute children be given preference, these conditions were not essential subsidy prerequisites; whereas, according to the territorial system certified destituteness was the sine qua non of subsidy. This second implication takes on further significance in that non-destitute, nomadic Indian children or non-destitute Indian children resident in non-school centres could be subsidized, but that Métis or white children in either situation could not. Third, Eskimo children, at least for the first quarter of the century, had a rather ambivalent status, and were not distinguished insofar as boarding school eligibility was concerned until the establishment of residential schools in the Mackenzie delta in the late 1920's. Prior to these foundations, the few that were brought to the lower Mackenzie appear to have been maintained either by mission or Indian funds or both.

About a year before the opening of Immaculate Conception residential school at Aklavik, Sister McQuillan, superior of the new foundation, wrote of her desire "to gain some children... from the Eskimo villages."⁴¹ When classes began in September 1926, however, only Indian children were in attendance.⁴² The desire to enroll Eskimo children remained unabated, but few came; in August 1929, for example, Sister Gilbert reported that she had "2 esquimaux seulement" in a class of twenty-eight. Furthermore, she thought the odds of increasing the number were not promising in view of recent Anglican manoeuvres:

Je vous assure ma mère que le travail sera long
et dur car la mission anglicane.....
.....s'en vont ouvrir une pacte école [residential]
à Shingle Point vers à 25 à 30 milles d'ici.⁴³

The Catholic presence in the delta undoubtedly hastened the Shingle Point foundation in the same way it helped prompt the opening of an Anglican hospital and day school at Aklavik.⁴⁴ The Shingle Point enterprise merits special consideration, as it was largely responsible for the formulation of an Eskimo intern policy, one that would have a bearing on the Catholic school at Aklavik, once and if it received a more substantial Eskimo enrollment.

In April 1928 when W. Cory (deputy minister of the Interior) informed Breynat that he "regretted" the churches in the north could not reach "an understanding...as to their respective spheres of activity," he had specifically in mind the Catholic enterprise at Aklavik, which, according to Charles Stewart (minister of the Interior) was in "English Church Territory."⁴⁵ Eight months after Cory's letter to Breynat, Archdeacon A. L. Fleming, at Stewart's suggestion, outlined to Cory plans for the establishment of an Anglican Eskimo residential school in abandoned trading buildings at Shingle Point.⁴⁶ Fleming estimated that \$5,750 was needed immediately for equipment only, excluding operating expenses, salaries, and so forth.⁴⁷ Following strong support for the Archdeacon's proposal by Finnie (branch director),⁴⁸ Cory notified Fleming in January 1929:

The Department is prepared to place \$10,000.00 in the estimates to assist in the establishment of this temporary school and to help maintain it during the next fiscal year [1929-1930].⁴⁹

Five thousand dollars was forwarded on August 10, 1929; other requisitions were processed, including ones for freight, school materials, and medical supplies. Equally important were the per capita allowances of \$200.00 per annum (equivalent to the Indian Affairs

grant paid to Aklavik) to a maximum of twenty-four interns for the fiscal years 1931 and 1932.⁵⁰ As a result of Shingle Point, a relatively munificent Eskimo residential school policy was put into effect, at least for a few years; in the 1930, 1931 fiscal periods, for example, Shingle Point Eskimo grants were about \$550.00 per capita annually. This allowance was approximately twice that given Indian children at the other four residential schools, and about \$350.00 more per annum than that given Métis and white destitutes⁵¹ (whose allowances neared parity with Indian ones in 1929).⁵² It should also be noted that until 1932 Shingle Point interns, like their Indian brethren, were not subjected to the scrupulous tests of destituteness that were required of whites and Métis. In 1932, therefore, the territorial government had two residential school policies, one for Eskimos, the other for Métis and white destitutes. Needless to say, it hastened to correct this inconsistency.

In January 1932, H. E. Hume (chairman, Dominion Lands Branch) moved to apply the destitute intern policy then in force for Métis and whites to the Eskimos at Shingle Point, by notifying Fleming that territorial forms 77 (Application for Admission of Pupils) and 78 (Admission and Discharge of Pupils) lacked, in addition to other data, destitute certification by the RCMP.⁵³ Fleming immediately protested admitting destitute children only.⁵⁴ After consulting Rev. H. S. Shepherd (principal, Shingle Point), he forwarded a more detailed complaint. Territorial officials made "no reference" to such forms when the school first opened. Upon receiving the forms and instructions relating to them, the principal, after considerable difficulty secured

parental signatures on some twenty odd forms, and submitted them to the inspector of police for his signature, but the inspector refused "stating that they [the children] were not, except in a few cases, destitute children." Fleming had no quarrel with the inspector's judgement; the issue was the question of destituteness:

I think that the matter of whether a child is a destitute child or not must be definitely put aside, and the Department recognize the validity of the claim which we make for the Eskimo children without prejudice to have the benefits of such educational facilities as are possible within the borders of our Dominion.

With a view to solving the problem "in a way that is mutually agreeable both to you and to the church," the archdeacon asked to see Hume in Ottawa on April 29.⁵⁵ Noting "that the promised grant of \$200.00 per annum has been paid regularly for all the children in residence at your Shingle Point school," Hume agreed to the meeting.⁵⁶ Several weeks after Fleming's visit to Ottawa, H. H. Rowatt (deputy minister of the Interior) wrote him promising to pay "the grant of \$200.00 per pupil in residence at Shingle Point...pending the final decision as regards the whole question of native education."⁵⁷ The Eskimo aspect of this solution would have relevance for the Catholic school at Aklavik as well. By 1932 Catholic proselytization along the coast had increased the school's Eskimo enrollment to about twenty.⁵⁸ But when the Council authorized Eskimos allowances for Aklavik in February 1933, it did so on the understanding that Eskimo interns would be subsidized only if they were certified destitutes.⁵⁹ Consequently, the territorial government's Eskimo intern policy not only differed from its destitute white and Métis one, it also, at least theoretically, differed in itself, in that non-destitute Anglican Eskimos

could be subsidized, whereas non-destitute Catholic Eskimos could not.

Rowatt's mention of a pending decision regarding "the whole question of native education" probably referred to an item placed on Council's agenda on November 6, 1929, entitled "Graduation Age of Destitute and Orphan Children from Residential School." Reporting to Council on that date, Finnie stated that two Catholic priests in Fort Smith had approached him concerning "the care of backward, orphaned or neglected children beyond the age of 15 years." They pointed out that many of these children "were not fitted to take their places in the world at that age and it was undesirable to permit them, particularly the girls, to leave the Missions so soon." The church was prepared to keep them in residential schools, but "required financial aid for the maintenance of these children until the age of 21 years was reached." After deciding its legal advisor would draft an appropriate ordinance, Council tabled the item;⁶⁰ and it remained so assigned for the next thirty-four regular Council meetings, though occasional references to the item were made which implied that a draft ordinance was forthcoming which would entail an overall territorial residential school policy.⁶¹ During this interval, various other references were made to residential subsidies, including ones for destitute whites, indigent eastern Arctic Eskimos, and Lapp children at Kittagazuit.⁶² When the November 1929 item was again brought to Council's attention on December 1, 1933, it was principally because Breynat had pointed out an inconsistency between the intern policies of Indian Affairs and the territorial government.⁶³ Breynat was immediately concerned about the graduation age of destitute non-Indian girls, and it was to this

matter that Council first turned its attention, realizing at the same time that it was but a part of the whole native intern policy which, according to one of the councillors, also required "very serious study."⁶⁴

When territorial officials received the March 1935 quarterly returns from Fort Resolution, they noted that two children in a list of twenty had reached the age of sixteen. According to the criteria of the Finnie memorandum, these children were no longer eligible for assistance, and they were removed from the subsidy list.⁶⁵ On hearing this, Breynat complained to J. R. McDougal (district agent, Fort Smith) that as Indian Affairs allowed some children to remain at residential schools until they were eighteen, he saw no reason why territorial subsidies should not be similarly extended. McDougal supported Breynat's submission;⁶⁶ as did Hume, who recommended to Rowatt that: "...the graduation age for destitute orphan girls maintained by this Department in the residential schools of the Northwest Territories be extended from 16 to 18 years."⁶⁷ Instead of approving this subsidy extension, Council at a meeting in December decided to explore the possibility "of bringing out destitute white girls to some Provincial institution rather than leave them in the Territories where there is little or no future for them after they leave school."⁶⁸ This proposition was not acted upon until Council met in March 1934 when, at Gibson's suggestion, it was decided to find out if the churches would agree to send "destitute white girls out of the Territories on graduation as their opportunities would be much better in the Provinces."⁶⁹ Fleming replied to Council's suggestion in May, saying "it has been our policy to keep the half-breed girls and boys away

from the 'bright lights' because of the greater temptations that come to them there."⁷⁰ A month later, Breynat also advised against sending young people to outside centres: "The environment, the climate and perhaps other circumstances of [a] more refined life has proved to be rather deleterious [sic]."⁷¹ Thus advised, Council tabled the item, noting that "past experiences were failures and sending girls outside is not recommended."⁷²

Though the administration, to repeat Rowatt's words, affirmed in May 1932 that a final decision regarding the "whole question of native education"⁷³ was imminent, there is no evidence that any such review was either in progress or planned, excepting those references made, from time to time, to the long standing graduation age item. In fact, it was ten years after Finnie's 1923 memorandum before measures were taken to review and amend territorial residential school policies. Considering that such actions were initiated in the worst of the depression years, it is not surprising to note that financial reasons were their principal motivation. In March 1933, J. L. Turner (assistant chairman, Dominion Lands Board) advised district personnel and the RCMP of the "marked increase in the number of applications for maintenance and education of destitute children in the residential schools," instructing them to attach a short report to applications of "children who have one or more parents living" that would state "why it is not possible for such a child to attend day school," and that would give a complete account of "the financial status of the parents."⁷⁴ This attempt to further discriminate destituteness simply elaborated Finnie's criteria, but the administration had more substantial revisions in mind. On June 1, Hume suggested to Council that a memorandum be forwarded to mission authorities which would advise them "that if they wish to furnish relief from a missionary charitable standpoint that a line should be drawn where

Government responsibility stopped and Church responsibility commenced."⁷⁵

There is no evidence that any such assignment of responsibilities was drafted, but the proposal's intent was apparent when Council at its next meeting decided to reduce all school grants in the next fiscal year.⁷⁶

Nothing was decided as to the amount of the reduction, nor is there any evidence that mission authorities were formally warned of the impending decrease. Territorial field officers, on the other hand, were aware of Council's views, and two of them, McDougal at Fort Smith and Urquhart at Aklavik, let Hume know their opinions regarding interns. In a letter to Rowatt in October, Hume, without detailing the officers' comments, pointed out that they had recommended different policies for the three ethnic groups, and warned of the "difficulties [that] would be encountered in an endeavour to legislate for separate groups." Hume thought the whole question should be raised in Council.⁷⁷ This was done in December when it was decided that a proposed conference of Mackenzie district doctors review and make recommendations concerning intern policies.⁷⁸ The conference did not take place, but Urquhart was able to solicit the opinions of several colleagues in the spring of 1934; and in October he appeared before Council with a memorandum entitled: "Shingle Point Residential School," extracts of which were read under the item "Maintenance, Education and Graduation Age of Eskimo and Destitute White Orphan Children."⁷⁹

Several points concerning Urquhart's memorandum, which has been discussed previously,⁸⁰ should again be noted. First, though the doctor's observations related to the Shingle Point school only, Council considered them applicable to all residential schools. Second, his recommendation that the graduation age of boys be reduced to twelve

and that of girls to be kept at fifteen was entirely in accordance with Council's penchant for reducing expenditures. Third, while Urquhart's scheme was well received, Council did not accept it as definitive, deciding instead "to review all cases of destitute white, Eskimo and halfbreed children being maintained in residential schools" especially in relation to the parents of such children "who might be destitute one year but have sufficient funds to pay for the maintenance of the children the next."⁸¹ One reason why Council was reluctant to accept Urquhart's plan entirely was advanced by Gibson: "children mature at different ages," and consequently to stop all subsidies at the revised graduation ages, could, on occasion, be both arbitrary and unreasonable.⁸² But another and more important reason for its reticence was that if the Urquhart plan was adopted it would mean that the discrepancy already existing between the intern policies of Indian Affairs and the territorial government would be increased.

In order to overcome such objections, Council, at its next meeting, asked Mr. J. D. Sutherland of the Department of Indian Affairs to consult with Urquhart and then draft a set of intern criteria "so that as far as possible the regulations of the Departments of Indian Affairs and Interior will be in harmony."⁸³ As Sutherland worked on his report, it became apparent that there was little hope of reducing expenditure on reviews of destituteness alone, and that if Sutherland did not accept Urquhart's main recommendations, territorial intern subsidies would remain at, if not go beyond, their current levels. In January 1935, Turner wrote the district's three medical officers

asking them "to review each [intern] case to determine whether present conditions were such as to obviate the necessity for the Department continuing to provide maintenance."⁸⁴ Bourget at Resolution noted that the twenty-eight children of his area were unquestionably destitute; Truesdell at Simpson wrote that three of the eight children in his region might be **helped** by their parents, "but to a very little extent"; Urquhart at Aklavik was similarly pessimistic: "I do not think there is at present a family capable of paying for their children's schooling."⁸⁵ When Sutherland's report was presented to Council on February 25, 1935, it was adopted unanimously. Its clauses, which have already been examined in detail,⁸⁶ can be summarized as follows: (1) graduation age for boys was to be fourteen, and sixteen for girls: (2) boys and girls upon reaching the age of twelve could be permanently assigned to homes (unsubsidized) during the hunting and trapping seasons until the set graduation age; (3) girls, in special cases only, could be kept in school to eighteen.⁸⁷ The regulations were not only supposed to apply to interns subsidized by either governmental agency; they also, according to Turner, were "sufficiently elastic to meet abnormal conditions and cover irregular cases."⁸⁸ Sutherland's memorandum, therefore, overcame the two reservations which Council had concerning Urquhart's draft when it was first submitted. In March 1935 the new regulations were forwarded to field personnel, school principals, and church authorities, and they remained unamended and theoretically in force until after the second world war.

Notwithstanding rigid reviews⁸⁹ of the level of intern indigency

and the reduced period of schooling outlined in the Sutherland memorandum, the territorial intern enrollment rose by approximately one-third in the 1934-1944 period. Data concerning this increase is given in Table IX below:

TABLE IX
TERRITORIAL INTERN ENROLLMENTS AND GRANTS*

	1934	1938	1944
Hay River (Anglican)	4	5	-
Shingle Point (Anglican)	29	-	-
Aklavik (Anglican)	-	51	45
Aklavik (Roman Catholic)	25	36	45
Resolution (Roman Catholic)	16	12	21
Providence (Roman Catholic)	3	8	16
Total Interns	77	112	127
Average Per Capita Grant	\$177	\$189	\$168

*Source of data: RAGC, 1934, 1938, 1944, passim; Hume to Rowatt, September 23, 1933, 600-4 1-A, RCO; "Education - N.W.T." [extract from Minutes], January 10, 1939, TAU; "Schools in N.W.T.," Minutes, April 24, 1944, XIII, 31152-53.

Considering the limited number of boarding school places for all ethnic classes -- in 1944 it was one place for every four Indians and one place for every five non-Indians ⁹⁰ -- entrance qualifications were not crucial; nevertheless, as Indian parents were not subjected to the intern subsidy means test demanded of their non-Indian peers, a basic difference between the intern policies of the two governmental agencies remained. Moreover, destituteness alone did not necessarily guarantee a place for eligible non-Indian interns; their enrollment chances were further circumscribed by locality and religious affiliation. By 1939 the Anglican boarding schools at Hay River and Shingle Point had closed, leaving Aklavik as the sole Anglican hostel

in the district. Only fifty authorized non-Indian subsidy places were available there; that is, one place for every eight possible candidates; whereas the three Catholic schools had approximately one place for every two candidates.⁹¹ As the territorial government provided no transportation allowances, the costs of sending Anglican interns from the southern Mackenzie to Aklavik reduced the value of their subsidies. Then, too, the distance between Aklavik and the Great Slave Lake hampered Anglican recruitment which, in any event, was hardly encouraged by the pessimistic views of Anglican chances held by that region's bishop, who, it may be recalled, termed his church's condition as one of "retreat."⁹² Catholic interns, who were usually sent to the nearest school, enjoyed several advantages over their Anglican school fellows: their assignment costs were less; more places were available for them; and they were more likely to be prevailed upon to attend a school that was comparatively close to home. In view of Catholic aspirations regarding Eskimo proselytization the Anglicans, who had six times the number of potential Eskimo interns that the Catholics had, could not assign too many places in their limited territorial entitlement to non-Eskimos. To have done so would have facilitated Catholic attempts to draw Anglican Eskimos into Immaculate Conception. Both Anglican and Catholic pupilages at Aklavik were the same, the Catholic school, unlike the Anglican, seldom reached its entitlement, and invariably had places available for territorial wards of the other denomination.⁹³ In fact the 1941 Eskimo enrollment of forty-one at Immaculate Conception nearly equalled the maximum number of all Catholic Eskimos of school age in the district.⁹⁴ Some of these Eskimos were not Catholic, but as an entry

in the school's journal for December 8, 1940 indicates, their presence at the school often made them so: "La belle fête de L'Immaculée est marquée encore cette année par le baptême d'un nos élèves protestants ...".⁹⁵ Notwithstanding such apostasies, Anglican Eskimos had a better chance of schooling under their church's auspices than their Métis co-religionists who were largely bypassed in the race for Eskimo souls. That their condition was even more desperate than their Eskimo brethren is evident in the following appeal which Fleming sent to the territorial government in May 1944:

Unless the Government is prepared to meet the situation we are bound to be involved in the old trouble of an illiterate half-breed population, ineffective and often-times undesirable.

To put it on no higher level, it seems to me a matter of enlightened selfishness that everything should be done to give intelligent half-breed children an education adequate for their needs.⁹⁶

No comment is to be found on the part of territorial officials concerning the racial and religious implications of Finnie's or Sutherland's memoranda. Such nuances as these were the concern of churchmen whose task was to supply intern places. Consequently if one denomination had a schooling advantage over the other, it was not because it was favoured, but simply because it had made greater staff and facility commitments.⁹⁷ The government fulfilled its obligations by subsidizing destitutes until they were sufficiently restored for re-assignment to the wilderness. If non-Indian children wished to acquire more than primary academic skills with a view to achieving a vocation other than the traditional one, the choice was open to them, but any such ambitions were to be sustained by non-governmental agents.

2. Schooling Recommendations

The territorial administration was so singularly preoccupied with school subsidies, especially intern grants, that it gave little attention to school matters which it did not directly subsidize, leaving their deliberation to mission authorities and Indian Affairs officials. While Indian Affairs allowances were more generous, field officers of that department were never too exacting, or for that matter, too knowledgeable about the form or consequences of mission schooling, with the result that the churches' sovereignty over native education was never disputed. All parties found the native-wilderness equation satisfactory, but governmental agencies adhered to this formulation with greater tenacity, for to have insisted on a more ambitious curriculum, better teachers, or improved school materials and facilities would have necessitated greater, yet axiomatically unwarranted, expenditures. From time to time, however, the territorial government was drawn outside its self-imposed limits to comment on such matters as curricula objectives, the training of nursing aides, and the development of a reindeer apprentice scheme. Characteristically these ventures were distinguished by the government's reluctance to incur additional expenditures or to deviate in any significant way from the sense of the native equation.

Curricula Objectives

In its occasional references to the curriculum of mission schools, Council emphasized the importance of renewable resource topics: for example, in 1924 it recommended "inculcating the idea of conservation [wild life and forests] in the minds of the children";⁹⁸

and in 1936 it reported: "teachers had been asked to endeavour to point out to their pupils that there is no basis for [the] superstition [against killing wolves]." ⁹⁹ Such suggestions as these were neither encouraged nor controlled by subsidies. Indeed, when it became apparent that a particular curriculum recommendation could only be realized by additional expenditures, the cost factor invariably minimized or overruled the recommendation's value. For instance in 1928, on hearing that some Eskimos were building wooden houses, Council agreed with Commissioner Starnes (RCMP): "The Eskimo must be educated in personal hygiene and sanitation before they could thrive in dwellings other than tents and snow houses." ¹⁰⁰ Two years later the Catholic school at Aklavik asked for a tent to house interns during the summer; yet what would appear to have been a good method of carrying out Starnes' recommendation was refused: "Dr. Scott said it was not the practice of the Indian Department to issue tents... and those present agreed that it would be inadvisable to create such a precedent in connection with Eskimo schools." ¹⁰¹ This reluctance to initiate policies not practiced by Indian Affairs was rather one-sided. Indian children were sometimes provided with traps, guns, and even sewing machines upon graduation; ¹⁰² whereas non-Indian children received no such support. One of the few times the administration permitted an allowance beyond its normal grant was in 1935, when it supplied a used typewriter to the Catholic school in Smith. The donation's rationale should be noted:

...It was moved by Dr. Camsell, seconded by Mr. Daly, that provided used typewriters surplus to Departmental requirements were available these be supplied to schools in the Northwest Territories so that the preparation of their

reports might be facilitated and [sic] more eligible [sic].¹⁰³

From 1920 to 1938 the territorial government gave every indication that it was reasonably content with the work of the Catholic mission schools. The following excerpts from field reports in the late 1930's do no more than reiterate the satisfaction expressed in 1920 by Kitto, the first territorial observer of the district's Catholic schools:¹⁰⁴

[1936] Work compared very favourably with what one could see in the Indian schools in the Provinces.¹⁰⁵

[1937] I think they are doing what they can and the children are receiving good instruction. These Indians... are a good type of native for the North.¹⁰⁶

[1938] We find them bright and cheerful, well managed and well equipped. These institutions are a credit to the Roman Catholic missions and the settlements in which they are located.¹⁰⁷

In January 1939, Council adopted a memorandum on education which found the prevailing system wanting in at least one respect: "The standard of education provided in the Northwest Territories is not generally as high as in the Indian Schools throughout the Provinces." One, if not the principal, reason for such a comparison becomes apparent later in the report: "The educational facilities...provided through the Missions are not adequate to meet the requirements of the white residents..." As long as the mission schools served a native clientele comparisons or outcomes were not too important, but the increasing number of whites in such places as Smith and Yellowknife necessitated the development of school policies more in accord with their life chances. Insofar as native education was concerned, the memorandum made one principal curriculum recommendation: "It might be represented to the Missions that considerable manual training should be included in the curriculum." It went on to stress that any

representations should only be advanced with the following principles in mind:

The Government outlay in supporting the Mission schools represents a considerable contribution toward education and it is doubtful if this could be materially increased. It is, however, possible that improvements may be effected without incurring any considerable additional expense.¹⁰⁸

Nearly three years after the adoption of the 1939 memorandum, Council was still receiving communications concerning the efficacy of a manual training programme for native children. In November 1942, A. Lawrence (superintendent of the station at Fort Vermillion, Alberta, Department of Agriculture) wrote:

Observation during my trip down the Mackenzie River showed a definite decrease in practical knowledge and ability of these people [Indians and halfbreeds] as I proceeded north. Discussing the matter with Drs. Truesdell, Harvey, and Livingstone, all agreed with me, that manual training... should be included in the school curriculum and that experts should be engaged to give such instructions. While it must be admitted that such training...would not increase the intelligence one hundred percent, I am of the opinion that a large percentage would become better able to serve a more useful purpose...for they would at least provide a source of intelligent help which at present is almost unprocurable.¹⁰⁹

A month later, W. Albright, Lawrence's counterpart at Beaverlodge, Alberta, commented in a similar manner:

The training of natives should stress manual arts and such knowledge as they can immediately apply on returning to their homes. A purely academic education of the Native children...leads to worse conditions perhaps than if they had not been schooled at all. The Native student must creep before he walks.¹¹⁰

Such ideas, however, appear to have had currency in official memoranda and inter-departmental correspondence only. If representations were made to mission schools to include such programmes in their schedules, they were largely ineffectual, as this excerpt from

Sister Kristof's (principal, Fort Providence) letter, dated September 1942 indicates:

...Our course of study is really confined to the 3 R's as is judged best by the officials of the Dept. at Ottawa. We also give half an hour a day for teaching religion and half an hour 3 days a week for vocal music. Not being dependent on education for earning his living, it is only natural that the Indian boy appreciates less its benefit, but however, in most cases, after having spent his five years in the school, he can keep his own accounts and write letters...¹¹¹

The next official report on educational conditions in the district occurred in April 1944, when Council reviewed a memorandum which made no reference whatever to manual training programmes. In fact, the report's only reference to curriculum was the following: "the Alberta Curriculum is taught in most of the schools of the Mackenzie District."¹¹² To what extent this was so is debatable; nonetheless, Council sanctioned a course of studies for all children despite the impossibility of its realization and its inappropriateness for the native majority. As it would not subsidize the costs of a manual training programme, it could hardly have done otherwise.

Nurses' Aides

The same hesitancy found in the government's manual training programme characterized another territorial curriculum venture, a training scheme for nurses' aides. At a meeting of Council in December 1939, R. Gibson (deputy commissioner) briefly referred to a proposal "for training native and half-breed girls for positions as practical nurses." Few details concerning the proposal were given, but Council recorded its support for the idea when it learned it had the approval of the Indian Affairs Branch and the Department of Pensions and National Health.¹¹³ The extent of Council's commitment, however,

was not apparent until 1941, when two requests concerning the scheme compelled it to do more than register its approval. The first occurred in September, when Dr. Livingstone (medical officer, Aklavik) advised Council that two girls were being trained as practical nurses in a hospital in his community. He asked that the administration grant them certificates upon completion of their course of studies. Again no details of the programme were given. Council nevertheless approved Livingstone's suggestion without determining how, or under what circumstances, the certificates would be issued.¹¹⁴ The second request was raised at its next session. Council noted a report from Bishop A. Turquetil (Roman Catholic Vicariate of Keewatin) that practical nurses were being trained at the mission hospital at Chesterfield and his request that the administration provide the vicariate with trainee maintenance subsidies. Turquetil's request, unlike Livingstone's involved grants and would, therefore, according to Gibson, "require careful thought because of its many ramifications." Following a discussion in which the councillors agreed with Gibson's affirmation that when half-breed girls "have graduated from school they have practically no alternative but to return to the native mode of life," it was agreed that Drs. McGill and Millar of the Indian Affairs Branch form a committee to consider Turquetil's appeal according to the following terms:

[1] Whether or not the N.W.T. Administration should pay for the maintenance of these girls as suggested by Bishop Turquetil.

[2] If Indian girls are trained, will the Indian Affairs Branch or the N.W.T. Administration pay their care?

[3] Maximum number of girls to be trained each year at each hospital. This is necessary in order that the Administration can budget accordingly.

[4] Approximate course of training for - first year, second and third - or more years.¹¹⁵

On November 25 the committee submitted the following recommendations to Council: (1) no tuition grants should be paid the missions for practical nursing programmes; (2) the missions could continue to provide such training as long as it involved no cost to the administration; and (3) the administration would pay tuition costs of "diploma" programmes which required matriculation standing. Except for P. Phelan who questioned the relevancy of the third recommendation ("most girls did not get past Grade 6"), no other doubts about the report were expressed prior to its adoption.¹¹⁶ In mid-December McGill wrote Gibson advising against Livingstone's certificate recommendation which the administration had approved in September.¹¹⁷

One reason for severing the sole church-state link in the nurses' aides programme was given Council about a week later, when T. MacInnes (secretary, Indian Affairs Branch) explained that the "Branch might be called upon to bear some expense in connection with the training of native girls if the scheme was given too much official recognition." Thus advised, Council struck the item from the agenda.¹¹⁸

A Reindeer Apprentice Scheme

In 1932, three years before the arrival of the reindeer herd on the east bank of the Mackenzie, Council agreed there should be a close relationship between the mission schools and the reindeer industry.¹¹⁹ It was costly for the territorial government to establish and maintain the herd- an initial investment of nearly \$300,000 and annual operating costs in excess of \$30,000,¹²⁰ but the administration never doubted the project's worth, believing it would "provide a

self-sustaining industry for the benefit of the native population."¹²¹ At first, there was a suggestion that natives could best be interested in herding by assigning sections of the herd to the mission schools "where it would be possible to train the pupils in the care of reindeer and also give them an appreciation of the value stock of this type could be to them in the future."¹²² This proposal was not taken up. Instead it was decided to send mission school graduates to apprentice in the grazing areas around Reindeer Station.¹²³ Both the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were enthusiastic about this. Bishops Breynat and Trocellier readily nominated candidates, but few of the boys sent to the station stayed for long, preferring instead to follow the traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing, and trapping. The reasons for this lack of interest were variously ascribed, one of the commonest being that the nomadic Eskimo (the favoured recruit group) were not as dependable as the Lapps who had been hired to manage the deer in the beginning.¹²⁵ For that matter, the administration had difficulty in maintaining the services of the Lapps who balked at paying school fees amounting from \$170 to \$200 per child from annual incomes of \$680.¹²⁶ Despite such problems the administration was often reassured during the 1930's, as the following excerpts from Council's minutes indicate, that a change in native attitudes was imminent:

[1934] Mr. A. E. Porsild [director of the Reindeer Project] stated that the Eskimos of the District are very much interested in the herd much more so under present conditions than they were when times are better and they had too much money.¹²⁷

[1937] It was mentioned that the Eskimos are becoming more enlightened, and the idea of taking up the reindeer industry might spread rapidly at any time, with the same

enthusiasm that after long delay the natives suddenly accepted teaching by the missions.¹²⁸

[1938] According to the reports of Dr. Urquhart the Eskimos are very much interested in the herd and while it is realized that most natives prefer to hunt rather than herd, the Department believes that with the training that is being given to young natives at residential schools native herders in the reindeer enterprise may be developed.¹²⁹

Although the administration's annual reindeer operating budget was always in excess of its yearly grants to all classes of schools in the district, no funds from the reindeer appropriation were given the schools to facilitate the development of pre-apprentice school programmes.¹³⁰ The administration, as in so many of its curriculum ventures, expected the missions to arrange, and if necessary finance, an appropriate preparatory programme for reindeer herders. Except for transporting some children to the summer roundup,¹³¹ there is no evidence mission schools provided what the administration often claimed they did, namely: "Special training for young Eskimo and Indian boys who have been nominated for services as apprentices in the industry."¹³² Even the terms of apprenticeship were not too encouraging. The boys who went with the native herds (four herds were formed after 1937) were given rations but no wages; those who went with the main or government herd were given rations, a fawn bonus, and \$25. a month.¹³³ Considering that \$26. was the average price of a white fox pelt during the 1940-1941 period,¹³⁴ it is not surprising to read the following in the territorial government's annual report for 1944:

The main problem affecting the reindeer industry is a shortage of reliable help for effective supervision and herding, and for the establishment of additional herds under native management. Three apprentices and one qualified herder, all natives, left the reindeer service during the

year, and engaged in trapping. No replacements were available.¹³⁵

The herd continued to be maintained, but native interest declined even further with Eskimo herders gradually surrendering or abandoning their animals to the government. Replying to the question: "Why did the enterprise collapse?," Jenness, a noted Eskimo ethnologist, advances as a principle reason:

...It would not survive the unwillingness of the Eskimos themselves to adopt the unfamiliar and arduous life of the reindeer herder as long as their traditional occupations, hunting and fishing, could supply most of their food....¹³⁶

Another source of Eskimo "unwillingness" could be traced to the mission schools. They were to provide special training, but this extraordinary curriculum expectation was never realized, largely because it was never prompted or controlled by government subsidies. Having been schooled in a curriculum which almost exclusively emphasized the value of the traditional way of life, the few boys who were sent to the station were consequently ill-prepared to accept the regular herding life or its meagre returns. It is little wonder that the badly prepared and poorly paid apprentices soon fled back to the wilderness.

As the above discussions indicate, schooling recommendations which failed to achieve recognition through subsidies were invariably prolonged and ultimately fruitless endeavours, yet their inoperativeness seldom upset the design or the goal of native schooling as determined by the church and the administration. Both parties knew, and were agreed upon the best life course for the native who was, after all, a recipient of their largesse and concern. Accordingly, whenever

the native showed reluctance to accept the kind of schooling provided, it was easily discounted as just another manifestation of an aboriginal and untutored mind.

Accustomed to an unambitious, yet virtually unchallenged, performance in school matters, both the church and the territorial administration were ill-prepared to meet the educational demands of white settlers who came in increasing numbers to the developing resource and administrative centres and who soon made known their dissatisfaction with the existing system, at least insofar as it affected their children.

1. An Indian meant: (1) any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; (2) any child of such person: and (3) any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person Revised Statutes of Canada, c. 98, s.2 (1927). By 1941, practically all Indians in the district had been numbered and assigned to regular bands. For an account of the branch's relations with one such grouping, vide R. Finnie, "Dogrib Treaty," National History (June, 1940), 52-60.
2. Many Eskimos were given numbered fibre discs during the 1941 census tabulations with the result that proof of Eskimeness, insofar as the northern branches of the federal government were concerned, meant having or being entitled to a disc. J. Lewis Robinson, "Eskimo Population in the Canadian Eastern Arctic," Canadian Geographical Journal (September, 1944), 5. Unlike the Indian administration, however, the territorial administration never used disc lists as the sole means of identifying its aboriginal wards: "The issuance of a disc does not change a person's status or race. Even though an Eskimo may surrender his disc or opt out of certain programmes established by the Administration for the benefit of Eskimos, he still is an Eskimo and as such may take advantage of any of the programmes designed to assist Eskimos." C. M. Bolger (director, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development) to investigator, July 31, 1967.
3. Dominion Law Reports (1939), IV, 418.
4. Vide supra chapter IV: and also Jenness, Eskimo Administration, chapters 4-7, in which the Eskimo policies of the Northwest Territories Branch, and its lineal descendent, the Bureau, are subjected to severe and carefully documented criticism.
5. Vide Minutes, 1928-1945, passim.
6. Minutes, February 20, 1938, VII, 1690.
7. Ibid., March 7, 1939, VII, 1709.
8. C. P. Plaxton (acting deputy minister, Department of Justice) to C. Camsell (deputy minister, Department of Mines and Resources), April 6, 1939, ibid., VII.
9. Eskimo schooling grants were substantially less than Indian allowances; for example in 1940 per capita schooling allowances; for eastern Arctic (including Quebec) equalled forty-two cents, while Indian school grants amounted to \$19.60 per capita. ARDMR (IAB), 1940, 187, 200; Robinson, "Eskimo Population in the Eastern Arctic," 5; Jenness, Eskimo Administration, 70.
10. The 1941 Census (the last to use Métis as a racial origin classification) listed 252 Métis and 2063 whites in the district, Census of Canada, 1941, III, 170. This low Métis count is

doubtful, but consistent with recent departmental (Northern Affairs and National Resources) estimates (1965) which state that about 9 per cent, or 879, of the territorial white population of 9,765 is Métis. North West Territories Today, 12. Slobodin's study of Mackenzie Métis in 1962-1963, on the other hand, lists 2,146 Métis in eight district communities R. Slobodin, Métis of the Mackenzie District (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University, 1966), 26.

11. "The medical officer at Aklavik suggested that these people [Eskimo, Indian, halfbreed], if they wished to be considered as whites, should contribute towards the cost of educating their children and any medical or hospital care required." Minutes, May 6, 1941, II, 2525-2526.
12. As the number of Métis and Eskimo children remained proportional to Indian numbers and as the number of white children rose only by one-third in the years 1921 to 1944, it is estimated that the territorial government was responsible for not less than thirty-three and not more than thirty-seven per cent of the district's children during the period under discussion. Census of Canada, 1921, 1931, 1941, passim.
13. For a record of territorial grants to Catholic day schools, 1921-1944, vide Table V, 161.
14. Minutes, February 3, 1932, II. For an account of the evolution of public schools in Fort Smith and Yellowknife, vide infra, chap. VII, passim.
15. For a discussion of territorial residential school policies, vide infra, 237.
16. The Northwest Territories and Yukon Bureau's annual school report usually noted that there had been small expenditures for school supplies. ARDMR(NWT), 1941-1943, passim. Most of the supplies were given to Anglican Eskimo day schools which were not subsidized by Indian Affairs funds. Vide for example, NWT requisitions: May 4, 1940 (Coppermine) 630/145-2 II, 228, PAC; March 23, 1937 (Eskimo Point, McPherson, Aklavik, Shingle Point, Cambridge Bay) 630/118-1, I, 225, ibid. Requisitions from Catholic schools (all of which received Indian school funds) to the territorial government for school supplies were often prefaced by such comments as these: "In the past years I never sent in any requisitions... The destitutes and Day Scholars have been using the material sent from the Indian Department which [because of the war] has cut off quite a bit, therefore I am obliged to seek help elsewhere." Sister Mary Mack (principal, Fort Providence) to W. Champagne (territorial official, Fort Smith), January 23, 1944, 630-110-3, IIA, 223, ibid.

17. Consolidated Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, c.75, s.116, s.s.3 (1898).
18. Vide supra, 98.
19. The territorial government considered reducing the day school allowance at a special meeting on June 13, 1933. It remained the same, however, despite intimations that it would be lowered in the next fiscal period. Minutes, June 13, 1933, 600-4, I, RCO.
20. In 1924 the territorial report became NWT form 61; forwarding instructions were changed from "to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor" (Quarterly Report, Dec. 31, 1921, Fort Norman, 630/114-1, PAC) to "to the District Agent, Fort Smith, for transmission to the Director of the North West Territories Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior, Ottawa," January, 1924, 600-4-IA, ibid.
21. The full grant for example, was allowed Holy Trinity Anglican day school at Fort Norman for the quarter ending September 1922 for two hours daily instruction. Quarterly Report, September 30, 1922, 630/114-1, PAC. The administration paid regular grants to the same school in 1924-1925 without commenting on Rev. Deacon's curriculum of December 1924: "Arithmetic, Reading, Writing, Spelling, Dictation, Composition, Simple History, Scriptural Knowledge, Current Events, Geography, and Grammar," or on his revised programme of March, 1925: "Subjects mentioned in last report I found to be a waste of time, as nothing was grasped by the children." Quarterly Reports, December, 1924, and March, 1925, 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.
22. The only time the territorial government insisted that there be a certified teacher at one of its subsidized mission day schools was in 1932 at Fort Smith, but this was a condition for a special grant not for the regular allowance. Minutes, February 3, 1932, II.
23. Criteria for territorial day school grants were outlined at a Council meeting on March 3, 1943: "The established policy has been to support day schools in southerly or Indian territory to the extent of \$200.00 per annum. The only departure has been in the cases of schools at Fort Smith and Yellowknife where qualified teachers are employed, the Alberta Curriculum taught, and exceptional circumstances prevail. Payment of grants is based on submission of quarterly returns provided the average daily attendance is five or more." Minutes, 3047, III. There were some exceptions to the attendance requirement, for example, the Anglican schools at Norman in 1922 and Simpson in 1933, but these were considered as temporary concessions only. A. L. Cumming (territorial official, Fort Smith) to R. A. Gibson January 21, 1937, 630/114-1, I, 224, PAC.

24. The Fort Simpson school registers make no distinction as to the racial composition of the enrollment; however, when the Indian returns are compared to the total enrollment in such quarters as June 1936, December 1936, and March 1937, there is little doubt that the territorial attendance was less than five. Register, Fort Simpson School, 1928-1942; ARDIA, 1936, 55; ARDMR (IAB), 1937, 223.
25. Father S. Lesage (Oblate pastor, Fort Simpson) notes that during the period (1918-1945) "most of the pupils were not Indians." Lesage, 113. According to Bishop Breynat, there was only one "native scholar" enrolled at the Fort Smith school in 1932. Minutes, February 3, 1932, II.
26. Vide Table V, 161.
27. Fort McPherson was the only Anglican Indian day school in receipt of a regular subsidy. Vide ARDIA, 1921-1936, ARDMR(IAB) 1937-1944, passim.
28. Because of the attendance stipulation, Anglican applications for grants were either refused, Fort Norman, 1937 (630/114-1, I, 224, PAC); reduced, Fort Simpson, 1943, (NANR File 19, Fort Smith); or discontinued, Fort Smith, 1930 (RAGC, 1930, K-29).
29. A distinction between grants to northerly and southerly day schools, the latter being permitted \$62.50 a quarter, is made in a letter from H. Holman (clerk, Department of the Interior) to R. A. Gibson, December 18, 1935, TAU. This policy came into effect in the 1931-1932 fiscal year. Some other minor concessions were made concerning allowances to northerly (Eskimo) schools, but such grants as \$50.00 (Cambridge Bay, 1929) and \$200.00 (Coppermine River, 1931) were not too encouraging especially when compared to Indian school allowances. RAGC, 1929-1944, passim.
30. For a record of territorial grants to Catholic residential schools, vide Table VI, 166.
31. "Certification," L. M. Lloyd-Walters (constable, RCMP Fort Smith), September 8, 1922 600-4 IA, PAC; and same to Officer Commanding (RCMP, Fort Fitzgerald), September 22, 1922, ibid.
32. Breynat to O. S. Finnie (director, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), October 10, 1922, ibid.
33. Moran to Finnie, October 23, 1922, ibid.
34. Cory to Finnie, December 4, 1922, ibid.
35. McLean to Finnie, December 12, 1922, Finnie to McLean, December 18, 1922, McLean to Finnie, December 21, 1922,

- Finnie to McLean, December 22, 1922, ibid.
36. Finnie to Cory, January 26, 1923, ibid.
 37. Notation, same to same, January 26, 1923, ibid.
 38. Breynat to Finnie, April 19, 1923, ibid.
 39. RAGC, 1925-1930, passim.
 40. Finnie to Gibson, March 23, 1928, 600-4, IA, PAC.
 41. McQuillan to Mother Dugas (superior general), September 6, 1925, Aklavik, SGM, 11 (?).
 42. September 1, 1926, Aklavik Chroniques, 1925-1930, I.
 43. Gilbert to Dugas, August 10, 1929, Aklavik, SGM, xix.
 44. The Anglican hospital opened in 1926 ("Questionnaire sur l'Hôpital," ibid, v); the day school was in receipt of territorial grants during the 1927-1928 fiscal year (RAGC, 1928, K-37).
 45. For an account of the Anglican, Catholic, and governmental debate over the Aklavik foundation, vide supra 140 and 172. The Anglican mission at Aklavik had been opened in 1919. Fleming, 221.
 46. Fleming to Cory, December 19, 1928, TAU.
 47. Same to same, December 20, 1928, ibid.
 48. Finnie to same, December 21, 1928, ibid.
 49. Cory to Fleming, January 3, 1929, ibid. (investigator's italics).
 50. Vide correspondence July 4, 1929 to September 30, 1931 between Fleming and the Department of the Interior, ibid; RAGC, 1930, 1931, passim.
 51. These comparisons are based on grant totals for the 1930, 1931 fiscal years in ibid.
 52. Moran notified the branch of the bishop's (Breynat) arguments for equity between territorial and Indian intern grants in January, 1929. Moran to Finnie, January 24, 1929, 600-4 IA, PAC. Territorial intern grants were raised to Indian Affairs levels of \$180. and \$200. at the eleventh meeting of Council on November 6, 1929, but as Indian Affairs gave other special grants, the discrepancy between the two remained. Minutes, I, 68, 73.

53. Hume to Fleming, January 26, 1932, TAU.
54. Fleming to Hume, January 27, 1932, ibid.
55. Fleming to Hume, March 7, 1932, ibid.
56. Hume to Fleming, March 18, 1932, ibid. (investigator's italics).
57. Rowatt to Fleming, May 11, 1932, ibid.
58. This estimate is based on figures quoted in Aklavik Chronique, 1931-1941, II, 34; and T. Trkhuhema (pupil, Aklavik) to Mother Piché (superior general), March 25, 1933, Aklavik, SGM. xxix.
59. Minutes, February 8, 1933, II.
60. Minutes, November 6, 1929.
61. Vide Minutes, Eleventh Session to the forty-sixth Session, I-III, passim.
62. Vide Breynat to T. Murphy (minister of the Interior) February 7, 1931, Ed. AVM; Minutes, June 26, 1931 and March 8, 1933, and Hume to Rowatt, October 17, 1933, 600-4 I-U, PAC.
63. Breynat had pointed out that the Indian Department was providing intern grants to its wards up to the age of eighteen years, whereas territorial intern grants ceased when the child reached sixteen. McDougal (district officer, Fort Smith) to Hume, September 11, 1933 600-4 IA, PAC.
64. Notes from the forty-sixth session of Council, December 1, 1933, ibid.
65. Sister Dussault (principal, Fort Resolution) to McDougal, July 6, 1933; Hume to McDougal, August 23, 1933, ibid.
66. McDougal to Hume, September 11, 1933, ibid.
67. Hume to Rowatt, September 23, 1933, ibid.
68. Notes from the forty-sixth session of Council, December 1, 1933, ibid.
69. Minutes, March 15, 1934, II, 486. Rowatt's letter to Breynat suggested: "It does not seem that the Territories are sufficiently advanced to absorb these girls but employment might be found for them in approved homes under proper supervision in the Provincial centres of population." March 29, 1934, ED., AVM.

70. Fleming to Rowatt, May 9, 1934, 600-4 I-A, PAC.
71. Breynat to Gibson (acting deputy minister), July 23, 1934, (draft) Ed., AVM.
72. Précis for N.W.T. Council, August, 1934, 600-4 IA, PAC.
73. Rowatt to Fleming, May 11, 1932, ibid.
74. Turner to J. Milner (mining recorder, Fort Smith), and to Dr. J. A. Urquhart (medical health officer, Aklavik), March 6, 1933, TAU; Turner to Major General J. H. MacBrien (commissioner, RCMP), March 9, 1933, ibid.
75. Minutes, June 1, 1933, II, 365.
76. Ibid., 371-372.
77. Hume to Rowatt, October 17, 1933, 600-4 I-A, PAC.
78. Notes from the forty-sixth session of Council, December 1, 1933, ibid.
79. Urquhart to Turner, October 17, 1934, TAU; Notes from the fifty-third session of Council, October 17, 1934, 600-4 IA, RCO.
80. Vide supra, 190.
81. Extracts from the Minutes of the fifty-third session of Council, 600-4, I-A, RCO.
82. Extracts from the Minutes of the fifty-fourth session of Council, November 26, 1934, ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Turner to Drs. Bourget, Urquhart, and Truesdell, January 2, 1935, ibid. As of May 30, 1933, medical officers were assigned the prime responsibility in determining the level of indigency of proposed interns, if their assessment was unavailable, it could be done by others in the following order: (1) senior official of the RCMP, (2) local missionary, (3) representative of a trading company. Rowatt to Urquhart, May 30, 1933, Minutes, II, 363.
85. Bourget to Turner, January ? 1935, Urquhart to Same, January 25, 1935 and February 7, 1935, Truesdell to Same, February 7, 1935, 600-4 I-A, RCO.
86. Vide supra, 191.
87. Extract from the fifty-sixth session of Council, February 25,

1935, ibid.

88. Turner believed the regulations would benefit all white, Métis, and Eskimo interns whom he divided into six classes:

(1) Those who, owing to lack of mental development, are unable to grasp the rudiments of an elementary education in the normal period of schooling and must therefore be retained until qualified to take up their life's work.

(2) Those who, owing to the nomadic life of their parents and home isolation, do not enter the schools until they have reached an age when under normal conditions they should be nearing graduation.

(3) Those who enter the schools at an early age (Urquhart recommended that the Eskimo entrance age for boys be eight, for girls ten. [Hume to Rowatt, October 17, 1933, 600-4 I-A, RCO]) and are more intelligent than their fellows, thus qualifying for graduation at about the age of 12.

(4) Those who have reached the age of 12 or 13 and are qualified for graduation, but owing to orphanage, must be retained for a period until a home can be found for them.

(5) Those who express a desire and are considered to have the necessary requisites to become Reindeer herders.

(6) Girls...should be sheltered until the age of 16 or 18. These girls...many between the above ages and with the background obtained in the schools...[they can contribute] toward the improvement of health, living and general conditions in the District - thus resulting in the development of a healthier, happier and more intelligent race. Turner to Gibson, March 11, 1935, ibid.

89. The following typify approved admissions: "The above named is an illegitimate son aged 1 1/2 years, of an indigent mother...admitted to the residential school as it was not seen how any better arrangement could be made (Minutes, December 29, 1936, IV, 847); two applicants, mother dead, father unable to work - "These are clear cases of desitution and orphanage. They are of the type usually accepted without question (Doyle to Cumming, October 24, 1941, 630-110-3, 222, PAC)." If the missions failed to obtain fees from parents of children who had been enrolled as non-destitutes, they found it difficult, if not impossible, to have such children put on the subsidy list. Vide Father J. Riou (Resolution) to M. Meikle (agent, Fort Smith), October 28, 1943, (trans.) 630/101-3, I, PAC.

90. Estimate based on Table VIII and "Schools in N.W.T.," Minutes, April 24, 1944, XIII, 3152-53.
91. Vide supra, n. 90.
92. Vide supra, 139.
93. Council noted the equivalent pupilages at Aklavik and the fact that the Catholic school had never attained its maximum entitlement, but made no mention of the denominational implications. Minutes, November 28, 1940, X, 2425.
94. The school's enrollment as of December 31, 1941 was 16 Indians, 41 Eskimos, and 10 Métis (Aklavik Chroniques, II, SGM [Fort Smith], 143). The Eskimo total has been compared with corresponding numbers in Table VIII.
95. Aklavik Chroniques, II, 128.
96. Fleming to Gibson, May 15, 1944, 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.
97. At a meeting of Council on January 26, 1943, Dr. H. Keenleyside asked "if consideration was being given to the possibility of taking over all the educational and hospitals services in the Northwest Territories." Minutes, XII, 2947. There is no record of a response to the question of educational services becoming a territorial responsibility, but a rationale for the hospital policy, submitted to Council on June 23, exemplifies the kind of thinking which undoubtedly was behind the territorial government's school policy: "Reason Why Present Hospital Policy Should Be Maintained" - (1) Mission staffs receive no salary, (2) missions get money from many sources; (3) hospitalization is synonymous with the advancement of civilization and Christianity; (4) hospitals do not restrict doctors: and (5) to embark upon a hospital policy would entail substantial federal funds. "Precis for N.W.T. Council," Minutes, XIII, n.p.
98. Minutes, June 12, 1924, I, 32.
99. Ibid., December 29, 1936, IV, 850.
100. Ibid., December 28, 1928, I, 54.
101. Ibid., August 19, 1930, I, 121.
102. Vide supra, 207.
103. Minutes, May 8, 1935, III, 550.
104. Vide supra, 92.
105. M. Christianson (inspector of Indian agencies, Alberta) to McGill, August 13, 1936, 25-2-919, IAO.

106. M. Meikle quoted in Gibson to McGill, August 6, 1937, ibid.
107. Gibson to Breynat, September 26, 1938, Ed., AVM.
108. "Memorandum for Northwest Territories Council Education - N.W.T.," Minutes, January 16, 1939, 1-3, VI. The memorandum gave detailed suggestions as to the type of manual training.
In the case of native boys this might include first aid, practical training on engines and motors of all kinds available, making and mending boats, nets, dog harness, sleighs and snowshoes and the tanning of hides. It might be possible to develop the art of ivory carving. The girls could learn first aid, cooking and serving meals, child welfare, sanitation, dressmaking, tanning of hides and the manufacture of skin clothing. The art of weaving as a native handicraft might also be taught. Ibid.
109. Lawrence to Director (central experimental farm, Ottawa), November 14, 1942, in Minutes, 15, VII, n.p.
110. Albright to Director, December 18, 1942, in ibid., n.p.
111. Kristoff to R. Hoey (superintendent of welfare and training, Indian Affairs), September 17, 1942, 25-2-919, IAO.
112. "Schools in the N.W.T.," April 24, 1944, Minutes, XIII, 31152-53.
113. Minutes, December 14, 1939, VIII, 2070. Gibson described the scheme as follows: "graduates would be supplied with first aid kits and would dispense simple medicines and do first aid work in their districts after leaving the hospitals"(ibid.). The scheme was approved in principle at the above session, vide ibid., April 30, 1941, IX, 2253.
114. Ibid., September 23, 1941, XII, 2591.
115. Ibid., October 9, 1941, XII, 2602.
116. Ibid., November 25, 1941, XII, 2645-46.
117. McGill to Gibson, December 17, 1941, letter in ibid., XII, 2684.
118. Ibid., December 23, 1941, XII, 2687,88.
119. Minutes, November 9, 1932, II. For a general review of the reindeer experiment, vide supra, 131.
120. From figures cited by Jenness, Eskimo Administration, 107.
121. "Draft Pamphlet on Reindeer Industry," Minutes, October 1, 1940, X, 2374.

122. Urquhart to Hume, June 3, 1932, ibid.
123. Vide Minutes, October 2, 1933, II, 386, November 26, 1934, III, 555, and "Report of Interdepartmental Reindeer Committee, April 18, 1936, IV, (2-5).
124. Vide ibid.; February 25, 1935, III, 616 and Meikle to Cumming, March 6, 1942, 1010-7-IA, 310 PAC.
125. Minutes, October 11, 1935, IX, 707 and April 18, 1936, IV (2-5).
126. Hume to Rowatt, October 17, 1933, 600-4 I-A, RCO.
127. Minutes, May 15, 1934, III, 512.
128. "Minutes of Meeting of Interdepartmental Reindeer Committee," ibid., February 23, 1937, IV, 873.
129. Minutes, February 20, 1938, VIII, 1262.
130. 1943 presents a typical example. Territorial school subsidies totalled \$24,728.33 (ARDMR(NWT), 1943, 65), while field expenses for the reindeer scheme amounted to \$28,209.98 (Public Accounts of Canada, 1943, J-20). The schools did receive a direct benefit from the scheme however; more than 1,000 carcasses had been given the missions by the end of 1943. Minutes, April 20, 1944, XIII.
131. For a record of one such visit to the reindeer camp, vide The Voice of Our School, Immaculate Conception, Aklavik, 1946, IV.
132. Minutes, November 26, 1934, III, 555; Gibson to Dr. Barton (deputy minister, Department of Agriculture), March 30, 1935; ibid., III, 627. (investigator's italics).
133. Ibid.; June 17, 1941, XI, 2556-57.
134. Jenness, 74; Robinson "Fur Production in the Northwest Territories;" 39-41.
135. ARDMR(NWT), 1944, 70.
136. Jenness, 106-107. Like Jenness, neither Zaslow nor Wolforth makes any mention of the role of the mission schools in the undertaking, Zaslow, 497; J. R. Wolforth, The Mackenzie Delta - Its Economic Base and Development (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1967), MDRPI, 17-27.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH, THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT, AND WHITE SCHOOLING

1921-1945

In 1927 a number of white residents in Fort Smith petitioned the territorial government for a public school. Apparently this was the first time that whites asked the government for schooling arrangements separate from those provided in the mission schools with their overwhelming native clientele. Before this appeal, the few whites who brought their children north made several schooling arrangements. In the nineteenth century some Anglican missionaries and Hudson's Bay traders brought their children to the Mackenzie. Charles Camsell, the son of one such trader, recalls the difficulties faced by his father during his Mackenzie posting from 1859 to 1900:

There were eleven children in our family. All except one were born in the north country...As his family grew up, my father faced the same problem that confronted every officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North country, namely the education of his children. Evidently he faced it head on, so that all his sons received an education at St. John's College in Winnipeg and his daughters at St. John's Ladies College or in England.

Until he was eight, Charles received "book learning" at home and from Bishop Bompas "who did not have much time for teaching school"; he then left for St. John's, passing on his way the Catholic residential schools at Providence and Chipewyan which as missionary enterprises were not "equipped for secular teaching."¹ Three children of Archdeacon and Mrs. C. Whittaker, Anglican missionaries who came to the Mackenzie delta in the 1890's, would undoubtedly have been sent out as the Camsell children were, but they died during epidemics.² No such outcomes had to be contemplated by Catholic religious. As a

young priest sailing to Canada in 1892, Breynat noted among the passengers: "Deux évêques anglicans..., avec leur breviaire [*] sous le bras (*Expression employée communément par les malins pour designer leur épouse)." ³ It obviously satisfied him to know that his apostolate and those of his confrères would be unimpeded by matrimonial encumbrances.

An influx of whalers and trappers increased the district's white population around the turn of the century; however, as they were seldom accompanied by their families, and as the native appellation was usually given to children fathered by them, they had no interest in schools. Several mounted police stations were set up about the same time, but the men of these detachments were similarly unconcerned about schooling. According to Inspector W. R. Pilkey (liaison officer, RCMP), there was "no definite policy regarding the schooling of Force children [in the Mackenzie District], the main reason being that the great majority of our members were unmarried." ⁴ Indian and territorial officials with their families, in some instances, followed the police into the district. Families of service and transportation workers also came, so that by the early 1920's there were small numbers of white children in several communities. Some children, like Harris' (Indian agent) at Fort Simpson or Conibear's (steamer mechanic) at Resolution, ⁵ were sent to the local mission school. Others were tutored at home, while other children were sent to schools in the Provinces. In regard to the latter, the Hudson's Bay Company was prepared to give some assistance:

We have been in the habit of making an educational allowance to assist with the cost of sending children

outside and maintaining them while they went to city public schools. The usual rate allowed was \$200.00 per child. In some cases, the mother took the family outside to live, in others, the children boarded with relatives or strangers.⁶

None of the above methods satisfied all white parents. Accordingly, when their numbers increased, so did their criticisms of existing arrangements, and their requests for better, or more familiar, forms of schooling.

At first, the territorial administration and the church responded similarly to the demands of white residents, stating that mission schools, perhaps with some minor improvements here and there, could easily provide an appropriate education for whites. In time, however, the church-administration entente, at least insofar as many white parents were concerned, proved unworkable, and entirely secular, virtually separated, even segregated, white schools were formed. After the first white schooling petition, white schooling became more or less equivalent with special or public schooling, while native schooling became more associated with denominational or mission schooling. In tracing this separation between native and white education, the following discussions will review and compare the immediate and long-term consequences occurring as a result of a realignment of the traditional church-administration schooling entente: (1) The Fort Smith Public School; (2) Special Schooling Arrangements; and (3) the Yellowknife Public School.

1. The Fort Smith Public School

In December 1927 O. Finnie (director, Northwest Territories Branch) advised Council that a public school committee, representing

a number of Fort Smith residents, promised to erect and maintain a school building provided the branch granted it an annual allowance of \$1,800.00 for the payment "of qualified teachers." Putting aside the specific request, Council concentrated instead on another clause of the committee's petition which asked "that necessary steps be taken to form a school district under the provision of 'the School Ordinance.'" After unanimously affirming "that schools in the Northwest Territories should be operated on lines similar to those prevailing in the Yukon Territory," Council decided to have draft legislation prepared which "would adequately meet the educational needs of the Territories."⁷ Why Council preferred the Yukon school ordinance over the territorial is not clear, especially when both statutes were predicated on the existence of a taxation district.⁸ In any event, neither the absence of municipal institutions in the territories nor the unlikelihood of their development in the foreseeable future would have prevented the enactment of viable and appropriate school legislation. As has been mentioned earlier, Council, because of a deficiency in the Northwest Territories Act of 1906, had no authority to pass educational ordinances,⁹ but this was an unrecognized limitation and consequently would not have prevented the implementation of new legislation.

In a letter to Finnie in September 1928, Breynat referred briefly to the recent agitation for a public school in Smith, noting that many of its supporters were "new-comers, mostly Government's [sic] Officials," including a Lieutenant Hastings, "the first one who, last year started the idea of a public school in Ft. Smith." One outcome

of this agitation especially concerned him:

It has been suggested that a Public School be established at Fort Smith. Chief Inspector Moran has informed me of the Department's intention to grant the sum of two thousand dollars (\$2,000.00) for the purpose, offering precedence of Headship to our Corporation.

While appreciating highly the intent of the department's offer, Breynat could not accept it for the following reasons: (1) the granting of public status to a denominational school would evoke criticism from other denominations; (2) the opening of a public school in one community would prompt other settlements to want the same: "Is the Department willing to head such exigencies?"; (3) the country was insufficiently developed for a "higher grade of education" than that presently given by both denominations; (4) there were only a few white parents who had children of school age, and they were drawing "high salaries which allow them to endow their children with a higher education"; (5) the white population is "very unstable and cannot be depended upon for permanent attendance at school." Furthermore, was the government prepared "to go into large expenditure to provide with a higher education such a limited transient portion of the population," especially when so little was being done for the half-breeds "who are and will be ever, permanent residents in the Territories." Breynat then went on to make several recommendations concerning school policy; yet, excepting one concerning scholarships, they were nothing more than reiterations of existing practises. He saw no need for higher education (beyond Grade 7 or 8) in the territories; the few who reached this level should be given scholarships which would enable them to attend schools "outside the country." Otherwise, he found "the School Regulations fairly answer the needs of practically

the totality of the permanent population of the District."¹⁰ By associating higher education with public education, and by suggesting that higher education be subsidized by scholarships and be achieved by assignments to southern schools, Breynat undermined the public school rationale. Any school, denominational or private, which enrolled five children should be subsidized; when and if its pupils reached the higher grades, their education could be continued elsewhere aided, of course, by scholarships. Undoubtedly he would have liked a higher grant for the Fort Smith school, but the dangers inherent in public school status were not worth the extra \$1,800. In such a school, would there not be pressure to exclude religious symbols, holy days devotions, textbooks, and so on? Furthermore, as Breynat noted in his autobiography, there was a very real danger that there would be objections to the formal teaching of religion: "Nous avons surtout à coeur d'y maintenir l'enseignement religieux, ce à quoi s'opposaient évidemment parents protestants ou incroyants."¹¹ Precedence of headship was therefore refused. As will be noted later, however, it would not be the last time that the Fort Smith school would be confronted by the proposition.¹²

The offer of precedence probably would not have required a change in the ordinance which had hitherto authorized day school allowances, as it made no restriction concerning the amount of payment. Breynat's rejection of the offer, however, did not do away with the public school question. Council was still awaiting a report on draft legislation "which would adequately meet the educational needs of the Territories," promised it in December 1927. Its wait ended exactly a year later on December 28, 1928, when Finnie advised it "that in the opinion of the

law officers, ample provision was made in the School Ordinance to deal with the school question at Fort Smith." From a legal point of view this was so, but practically speaking, the possibility of implementing the old territorial public school ordinance in Fort Smith, which lacked nearly all the fiscal and legal prerequisites, was very slight. Of course, the public school advocates, as a private group, could petition for the regular day school grant, but this would have been \$1600.00 less than their original request. In any event, the idea of a public school was waning in Smith. Finnie reported that a number of residents with school-age children had left; and Moran told of his visit to the settlement the previous summer, during which "no reference was made by any of the residents to this question." Neither Finnie nor Moran made any mention of the proposal which had been made to Breynat.¹³

On January 2, 1930, about two years after the above Council meeting, Breynat in a sermon to the Smith parish referred to renewed agitation in the settlement for a public school. If there was to be a public school, it would have to be Catholic as Catholics were in the majority. If the advocates of a "neutral" or "unsectarian [sic]" public school succeeded in establishing a tax-supported institution, then the church would respond by setting up a tax-supported separate school. Instead of both parties following what would be an ill-fated course of action, concluded Breynat, the Protestants should set up a school under the existing day school regulations.¹⁴ With the opening of an Anglican school several months later, demands for a public school diminished, but its sudden closure after a short period of operation¹⁵ caused yet another appeal to Ottawa: "The residents

of Fort Smith have petitioned for a public school with a teacher qualified to take white children up to the eighth grade."¹⁶ Upon learning this, Breynat wrote Mother Piché (superior general, Grey Nuns) advising her that the teacher at the Catholic school was insufficiently qualified. A qualified teacher should be sent at once, especially as the Anglican bishop "a déjà offert une salle pour l'école projetée par les dissidents," who were "remuant ciel et terre pour avoir une école publique."¹⁷ The unqualified sister was removed and her replacement, who held a second class Alberta certificate, opened the school in September 1931.¹⁸ Sometime that fall a meeting took place at which it was agreed that as the Catholic school was able to provide the level of education asked for by the petitioners, it should be compensated accordingly.¹⁹ The Catholic school grant was raised to \$650.00 at a meeting of Council in February 1932.²⁰ However much the decision satisfied the church and the administration, it failed to win the support of "certain people at Fort Smith," who having been thwarted in their attempt to gain a public school turned to Bishop W. A. Geddes (Anglican Diocese of Athabaska) and prevailed upon him to open a school in the community in the fall of 1933. In December of the same year the question of a grant for the school came before Council.²¹ Should the Anglican school, whose teacher was qualified, receive the same grant as the Catholic? Breynat had already informed Council that it should. Indeed, he went further, "dans le but d'éviter toute agitation, j'offris au représentant du Gouvernement de céder la moitié [\$325.00] du salaire de notre Soeur Institutrice" in favour of the Anglican teacher.²² After estimating that it would cost the administration \$1800.00 annually "to take care of all pupils,"

Council decided to grant each school \$500.00 per annum as of April 1934.²³

Had Breynat accepted the precedence proposition or insisted on keeping the special grant, it would have undoubtedly subjected the Catholic school to interference from unsympathetic, even hostile interests. To the bishop the matter was simple; two groups required schooling, Catholics and others; he would look after the former, the latter were best assigned to the Anglicans. So far as he was concerned, the opening of the Anglican school resolved the issue: "Et depuis une heureuse harmonie a toujours régné entre les deux groupes religieux du Fort Smith."²⁴ The administration's stance during these negotiations is less clear. By justifying its delegation of schooling to the denominations because of its cheapness, the administration avoided coming to terms with a number of questions which, sooner or later, it would have to answer. What alternative did the dual system present to those children who were of neither persuasion? Was the old territorial ordinance really an appropriate device for the establishment of public schools in the Mackenzie? Why raise the Smith schools' allowances, and not others? Were the Smith schools the only ones expected to teach to Grade VIII? In asserting that the dual school arrangement was less expensive than a common public school, did the administration mean that but for this common schools would be established despite the restrictions of the Indian Act or separate schools sections of the Ordinances? One can surmise that the Anglican element of the 'others,' the third party to the agreement, was the most satisfied. In any event, all 'others' knew that the Anglican church would subsidize the school, see to its staff, and be

responsible for its day-to-day operation.

By 1935 there were only forty-five others (non-Catholics) in the settlement.²⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Anglican parish had difficulty in holding ministers²⁶ (who were usually schoolmasters as well) and in meeting the school's minimum attendance requirement.²⁷ Frequent changes in pastors led to other problems. When R. Gibson (deputy commissioner) visited Smith in the summer of 1938, several parents complained to him that the latest Anglican incumbent "was not imparting adequate instruction to the pupils."²⁸ Gibson advised them "to form a school board," and later with Council's approval, informed Bishop Sovereign of the community's dissatisfaction with the teacher.²⁹ In the fall of 1939 the bishop relinquished control of the school, recommending the grant be assigned to a newly formed non-denominational parents' committee.³⁰ Without any further assistance from the church, the committee soon found the grant inadequate, and it was not long before it called upon the administration to direct "all moneys collected locally under the Businesses, Callings, Trades and Occupations Licence Ordinances" to the support of what was now called the "Protestant", or more frequently, the "Public" school. Council refused the request, noting that as most school-age children in the settlement were Catholic, "It would not be possible, therefore, to hand over all the revenue to those interested in the Protestant school."³¹ In 1940 the committee, now known as the public school board, referred to the suggestion made by Gibson during his visit in 1938, and interpreting it quite literally initiated steps to achieve legal

status under the Ordinances. But when Gibson heard his suggestion repeated before Council in April 1940 in the form of a notice for a school district, he no longer favoured it: "The granting of an application for a public school at Fort Smith would establish a precedent and requests for schools at other points in the Mackenzie District would likely follow."³² Abandoning its attempt to achieve legitimacy,³³ the board went ahead with the building of a school, while continuing to press for better terms. At a Council session in February 1941, after a discussion concerning the payment of a \$2,000 capital grant to the Yellowknife public school, the administration agreed to pay \$400 or approximately two-thirds of the cost of the public school at Smith, as "it would be difficult to refuse a grant in one case and not in another."³⁴ In September 1943 Council, after receiving representations from the board for an increase in the school's operating grant, "agreed that in view of the exceptional conditions prevailing in Fort Smith, the annual grant to the public school should be increased from \$500 to \$700."³⁵ By 1944 the settlement's non-Catholic population had risen to 127, with the result that the school easily attained attendance levels beyond the minimum requirement.³⁶

Shortly before the Anglican school became "public", Father A. Mansoz (pastor, St. Isidore, Fort Smith) declared:

Until we receive some notification from H. Ex. B. Breynat...there is absolutely no change in the status of our school, it will be continued as in the past, under the care of the Rev. Sisters. And we have positively no reason to expect that there will be any change.³⁷

There is no evidence that Breynat made any comment on the advent of

the public school, and though he probably regretted the passing of the Anglican institution, circumstances did not warrant comment one way or another. After all, he accepted such an eventuality in his memorandum to Finnie in 1928 "...any denomination or private initiative"³⁸ should be permitted to conduct schools. In effect, therefore, if the Anglicans wished to release their school to a private group which called itself public, that was their affair. What mattered, of course, was that the Catholic school would continue to receive the same treatment from the territorial government accorded the public one. During the 1939-1940 term this was so, both schools received \$500. In 1941, however, the administration paid two-thirds of the construction cost of the public school. Would such grants be paid retroactively for the cost of the mission school? Apparently not. Could the mission school, which was described by a territorial official as "overcrowded, poorly lighted, and [in need of repair]"³⁹ count on the administration granting two-thirds of the construction cost of a new school? Not according to a notice given to a session of Council in 1942: "He [Gibson] said that the policy in granting financial assistance to assist in building schools...was to limit the aid to 40 per cent of the cost."⁴⁰ A second, and probably more significant, departure from the canon of equal treatment is apparent when the 1943-1944 operating grants to the two schools are compared: the total grant to the Catholic school was \$500, or \$12.00 per territorial pupil; the total grant to the public school was \$700, or \$54 per territorial pupil.⁴¹ Ordinarily Breynat would have been on the scene making himself heard on such issues, yet there is no

record that he commented on either public school allowance. His silence might be explained by his failing health, his frequent absences from the vicariate,⁴² or his lack of communication with the Oblate Indian committee;⁴³ for that matter, he may have known of the increased subsidies and refrained from utilizing or contesting them for harmony's sake. He may have also seen the public school's evolution as just another manifestation of the new and almost inevitable order which he spoke about upon resigning in 1943:

...L'arrivée d'une multitude d'étrangers, qui viennent exploiter les richesses du Nord, fait surgir de nouveaux problèmes un peu partout. L'administration du vicariat se complique en conséquence. Vraiment, je ne me sens plus la force, ni physique ni morale, de garder la direction du vicariat et de faire face convenablement aux obligations qu'elle comporte.⁴⁴

Now the task was Trocellier's, recently raised to the episcopate, and whose work had been almost exclusively with the Eskimo. It would be some time before he would negotiate Catholic schooling interests with the same sureness as his predecessor.⁴⁵

In summary, it could be stated that the principal impetus for a public school at Smith was the successful Catholic proselytism of the region's indigenous population. For if the Anglicans, rather than leaving the area to the Oblates, had persisted in obtaining a Métis and Indian following, their school, aided by Indian as well as territorial subsidies, would have been a much more viable institution. As it was, the lateness of the Anglican arrival (1926) meant that the church's membership was drawn largely from a small non-indigenous group. Accordingly, when the Anglican school opened, it had a predominantly white clientele who, to varying degrees, found

the Catholic school's native enrollment, limited curricular objectives, and religious orientation not to their liking. For a time the whites sustained the Anglican enterprise, but when their numbers increased and when they found the *liaison* no longer appropriate, they moved to form a non-denominational school which they hoped would realize their long-sought ambitions for better, and more familiar, forms of schooling. Consequently the public school board, which was essentially a watchful committee of parents, emphasized such matters as the teacher's qualifications, the orthodoxy of the curriculum (Alberta course of studies), and external examinations (set and marked by the Alberta Department of Education).⁴⁶ In such circumstances, it was not unequal subsidies which made the Catholic school's situation precarious, but rather that as a native institution, its traditional operational context, characterized by such factors as indifferent native parents, passive governmental supervision, and a religious oriented and wilderness directed curriculum made it ill-prepared to become a school for both white and native Catholics. A common faith may have brought them to one classroom, but the cultural backgrounds and expectations of the two parties largely distinguished and separated them. How to school both groups appropriately became the Catholic school's dilemma.

2. Special Schooling Arrangements

In addition to its involvement in direct school subsidies and its ventures into native curricular programmes, the territorial administration also considered a number of other schooling matters. Some of these, such as distributing medallions or noting receipt of

schooling schemes,⁴⁷ were of little consequence. Its deliberations concerning correspondence lessons and compulsory school attendance are more significant, however, as they reflect the administration's desire to improve the educational opportunities of white children on the one hand, and its reluctance to improve the chances of native pupils on the other. This is not to say that the administration deliberately sought to preclude native children from Euro-Canadian forms of schooling, but rather that it did little, if anything, to make such opportunities possible.

Correspondence Courses

In 1932 Council, after receiving a request from a white resident in one of the non-school communities in the Mackenzie for some books and correspondence materials, agreed to purchase the items and to have them forwarded "to the educational authorities of the church for transmission to the applicant." Council's decision to route this and all subsequent requests through the missions was premised on the understanding that "the church authorities were looking after educational matters in the Territories," and that they, rather than the administration, should be responsible for providing special materials of this kind and for claiming reimbursement "from the Department of the Interior for any expenses incurred."⁴⁸ There is no evidence, however, that either church was informed of their responsibility; nor, not surprisingly, is there any indication that either took advantage of or promoted the use of this new facility. Consequently those residents who wished to obtain correspondence lessons or other school materials arranged and paid for them on their

own. In 1938, after hearing that some of the residents in Yellowknife and Fort Smith were using correspondence courses from the Alberta Department of Education,⁴⁹ Gibson visited the department's offices in Edmonton and learned that it was providing correspondence instruction to eighteen territorial children. Impressed with the arrangement, on his return to Ottawa, he indicated to Council that the courses were ones "which the people in the north are particularly interested in" and that they were being given territorial children "free of charge due to the fact that the federal government [has] always supplied publications to the provincial government without charge."⁵⁰ Shortly thereafter, following inquiries to the Department of Education in Saskatchewan concerning the availability of its correspondence facilities, the administration was assured that Saskatchewan would extend its services "to children residing in the area north of Saskatchewan, provided it could be shown that Alberta was educating children in the area north of Alberta who had no other way of obtaining education." As Alberta was already committed, it meant that Saskatchewan could be counted on as another source, although its sphere of influence included few, if any, white children. On January 10, 1939, Council was presented with a special report, entitled "Education, N.W.T.," which emphasized "the considerable benefit available in correspondence courses provided by the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta." Needless to say, the church's intermediary role in providing special educational services was not recalled. With the provinces performing the entire service without charge, any mission involvement would have been superfluous, even upsetting, especially as the same report judged mission schooling to be inadequate for "the

requirements of white residents." In this connection, the report suggested that correspondence schooling was to be used primarily by whites, as "a great deal of the progress of students depends on the assistance they receive from their parents or guardians in carrying out the instructions given by mail."⁵¹ While correspondence facilities were not seen as a final solution to white schooling needs, they, together with the public schools at Smith and Yellowknife, were viewed as promising developments which helped temper criticisms like the following from a white resident of Fort Norman in 1945:

I can now understand some of the criticism that I have heard and can now see that the lack of educational facilities is probably the chief factor in preventing the settlement of better class people in the North.⁵²

As most native parents were illiterate, their use of correspondence courses was out of the question. Mission schools occasionally **supervised** correspondence work; lessons were sometimes obtained for white pupils in the senior elementary grades, otherwise they were used sparingly and seemed to have little effect on native instruction. That such was the case is not surprising, especially when one reviews the McPherson Anglican school's attempt to use correspondence courses as a means of schooling native children.

Reverend A. Dewdney opened school in 1938 only to find that both the Indian and territorial administrations had little interest in his enterprise, principally because of his inability to keep a sufficient number of Loucheux and Métis in class long enough to qualify for quarterly grants.⁵³ In 1943, after several unsuccessful attempts to keep the school open, Dewdney reluctantly decided to try correspondence courses, though he, his wife, who also taught school,

and his bishop (Fleming) continued their attempts to coerce the administrations into building and staffing a day school.⁵⁴ When the courses arrived, Dewdney was charged postage which he asked the administration to pay. In March 1944 Council agreed to assume "postage or express" charges on correspondence shipments, and the Department of Education in Alberta was informed that it would be reimbursed for "out of pocket" expenses.⁵⁵ Alberta by this time had reassessed its role in territorial education, and it soon made clear that it expected to be reimbursed for all expenses related to the provision of correspondence courses.⁵⁶ As Gibson considered how to distribute this extra cost,⁵⁷ he received a pessimistic report from Mrs. Dewdney which chronicled the general ineffectiveness of correspondence instruction. "If these children are to get an education," she concluded, "I am sure it will have to be under definite Government supervision, with regular school hours and a teacher whose only job is school."⁵⁸ On January 3, 1945, about two weeks after receiving Dewdney's letter, Gibson wrote Dr. H. A. Alderwood (secretary, Anglican Indian and Eskimo school commission), and after reviewing the schooling situation at McPherson ("It is appreciated that furnishing correspondence courses for children where parents are illiterate and, therefore, unable to help them is not a satisfactory solution..."), he assumed the position the administration had always taken in the church-state native schooling entente, and asked "I would appreciate a suggestion from you as to what should be at Fort McPherson."⁵⁹

Alderwood's reply was somewhat ambiguous and much less direct than either Fleming's or Dewdney's appeals had been. During his visit to McPherson the previous summer the Loucheux had asked for their

own residential school as few of them were able to attend the Anglican institution at Aklavik. He thought such an establishment would be a very good thing, "especially because our school [at Aklavik] would be much stronger if it were predominantly for Eskimo."⁶⁰ Later that year, the Department of Indian Affairs promised to open a school in the settlement by September 1946. In the meantime the Dewdney's ordered twenty-three sets of correspondence lessons. When Gibson received the requisition for this order it seemed to convince him of the inappropriateness of the entire McPherson correspondence venture:

Quite frankly we have never contemplated that a teacher competent to handle a school would require correspondence school courses for each child as this would be a bit expensive.⁶¹

Compulsory Education

Ordinances. Those sections in the old territorial school ordinance relating to truancy and compulsory education remained unamended and in effect throughout the period under discussion, and as such were applicable only to those white, Eskimo, and Métis children who lived within the boundaries of a properly constituted school district.⁶² Until the establishment of the Yellowknife School District in 1940, the attendance provisions of the ordinance were not significant anywhere in the Mackenzie; thereafter, they were applicable solely to a small number of white and Métis living in Yellowknife's attendance area.⁶³ It should also be noted that as the Indian Act governed all matters relating to Indian schooling, Indian children regardless of their place of residence were not subject to "The School Ordinance." Catholic authorities occasionally called upon the RCMP, whom the Act designated as truant officers, to bring Indians to

school,⁶⁴ but the force had neither the zeal nor the authority to act as truant officers for non-Indian children. While external attendance at Catholic residential schools was poor, large internal enrollments at these institutions kept daily attendance percentages reasonably high. Catholic day schools, on the other hand, seldom registered more than two-thirds of their enrollments on any one day; moreover, their total enrollments included only a portion of school-age children in their settlements.⁶⁵ Following the public school's establishment in Smith, the contrast between its occupied seats and the Catholic school's empty ones became increasingly embarrassing to the Catholic mission; so much so in fact that Breynat wrote Gibson early in 1941 to see if anything could be done to enforce native attendance. Gibson replied in July:

We will remind our officers and also the R.C.M. Police of this Section [144] and also get their opinion as to whether any change in the Ordinance is desirable.⁶⁶

Briefly stated, the section required that every parent, "resident in a school district having charge of any child...between the ages of seven and twelve inclusive shall be required to send such child to school for a period of at least sixteen weeks in each year..."; and every parent who did not provide for his child's schooling "shall be subject to the penalties hereinafter provided." As none of the following four sections were enforceable unless the parents "resided in a school district," it would appear, even after a cursory reading, that the ordinance needed revising.⁶⁷ Any such undertaking, however, would have raised a host of difficult questions. How, for example, should attendance areas be designated in the revisions? Would compulsory

attendance clauses be subject to the availability of denominational schools? Would the revisions affirm, revoke, or enlarge upon existing church-territorial schooling arrangements? Would not truancy and compulsory education clauses destroy the traditional native-wilderness equation? Needless to say, the above questions as well as others of a similar nature are of academic interest only; the ordinance was not changed, and if opinions concerning its revision were sought, their substance is not known. Throughout the war the administration, as though it wished to prolong the halcyon years, let the church struggle with the attendance issue with whatever resources it could muster. Then in the fall of 1945, Gibson hinted to Trocellier that the root cause of the problem might be found in the Catholic schools themselves whose worth had hitherto been unquestioned;

Of course the parents are somewhat to blame, but undoubtedly some of the difficulty lies in the fact that the teaching in all instances has not been of the character which holds and develops the interest of the pupil.⁶⁸

Already concerned by Moore's criticisms of Catholic schools,⁶⁹ and sensing misgivings about the church-territorial schooling entente in Gibsons's note, Trocellier's reply was cautious, almost defensive:

...It must be remembered that children who are not obliged by any ordinance to attend school and who receive little or no encouragement from their parents in this matter, will rarely come so completely under the spell of a teacher's magnetism as to come to school regularly for eight successive years....⁷⁰

Family Allowances. With the implementation of the Family

Allowances Act in July 1945,⁷¹ a new schooling incentive was introduced to the Mackenzie, but as in the case of the attendance sections of the ordinance, white rather than native pupils proved to be the

principal beneficiaries. According to the regulations gazetted in August 1945, family allowance payments, notwithstanding their value as a source of native income, were of rather dubious worth in terms of the educational interests of the churches who were charged with native schooling. The substantive maintenance regulation is one instance of the scheme's negative effect; as it permitted allowance payments to parents only if they contributed more to their child's maintenance than "any other individual or individuals."⁷² To a considerable extent the regulation undermined the native intern policy which, it will be recalled, was almost entirely based on certificated destitution. When destitute native parents assigned their children to residential schools, such assignments did not necessarily lessen their destitute condition, for the children's absence often deprived the family of economic contributions. With the introduction of allowances, the deprivation of destitute parents was increased as the children's absence prevented the parents from receiving what would have been a principal source of cash income. R. A. J. Phillips' statement of the effect of family allowances in the North - "[it] changed the unproductive child...from a burden into an asset"⁷³ - hardly applies to children in residential schools in the Mackenzie. For them at least, the statement would be more appropriate if it read: 'family allowances further reduced the productiveness of native children.' Not surprisingly, the regulation prompted some parents to withdraw their children from residence, and prevented others from sending theirs. Indeed, the regulations' negative consequences are still evident in several native settlements in the Mackenzie today.⁷⁴

Detailed regulations concerning allowance payments to Indian and special regulations concerning payments to Eskimo ("a person...to whom an identification disc has been issued") and Nomad ("[one] who is neither an Eskimo nor an Indian but who follows the Eskimo or Indian mode of living") families were also given. Indian parents received allowances for school-age children if they (1) attended school as required by the Indian Act; or (2) received "training equivalent to which [they] would receive if attending school."⁷⁵ It may be recalled that the discretionary powers of the superintendent general of Indian Affairs concerning the attendance stipulations of the Act had been used in framing the Sutherland memorandum, which was concerned entirely with intern arrangements, and which virtually replaced the Act's schooling clauses.⁷⁶ Consequently, as no viable schooling regulations existed for non-intern children, Indian parents, who did not assign their children to residential schools, were in effect eligible for allowances whether or not their children attended school, or received equivalent training. If Indian families resided in school communities, they might have been threatened with the loss of family allowances because of their children's non-attendance at school; however, as the department continually prevailed upon them to return to the trapping and hunting areas, it invariably looked upon settlement residence as a temporary condition which would only be prolonged if it insisted on regular school attendance. Eskimo and Nomad parents who resided in areas where there were no schools were eligible for allowances, if the Northwest Territories Bureau was satisfied that their children were receiving training "according to prevailing Eskimo...or Nomad...customs."⁷⁷ Even if Eskimos and Nomads

lived in settlements where there were schools, it is doubtful that they would have lost their allowances if they did not send their children to school, as the regulations deemed non-attendance as a condition contrary to "the laws of the province or territory."⁷⁸

As no school law existed except in Yellowknife, all non-Indians were eligible, unless they were certified as destitutes, for allowances regardless of their academic situation. In such circumstances, family allowances could not, therefore, be looked upon as a means of improving attendance levels in the district's Catholic schools. Indeed, an exchange of correspondence between Trocellier and Gibson in November 1945 would lead one to conclude that native parents were more likely to benefit from family allowances by keeping their children from school. Trocellier wrote that some Métis parents who had promised to pay boarding school fees were not doing so. It was unfair he felt, that they should receive family allowances when they made no contributions towards their children's education.⁷⁹ Gibson replied that the church could apply to have these children registered as indigents. If the administration approved the applications, it would, upon initiating boarding school allowances to the church, notify "the Department of National Health and Welfare" which would "stop the payment of Family Allowance to the parents..."⁸⁰ In other words, native parents had three alternatives: first, pay boarding school costs which were two to four times greater than family allowance payments;⁸¹ second, give up the income from allowances and relieve themselves from school fees by having themselves declared indigent; or third, withdraw their children from school and thereby be assured of their presence, labor, and allowances. Accordingly, it is not

surprising to find a report from the Catholic school at Aklavik, dated September 30, 1946, with the following explanation for the withdrawal of nine pupils, six of whom were in grade one; "Parents hope to benefit more by family allowances."⁸²

3. The Yellowknife Public School

In the brief account of Yellowknife's development given previously,⁸³ it was noted that the settlement was pioneered by white miners and associated entrepreneurs who, when assured of long-term gold yields, set about building a permanent settlement in the spring of 1938. Soon roads, wharves, and oil dumps appeared along the lakeshore; houses, shops, and headframes dotted the rocky slopes; and children, recently arrived, listened to their parents speaking of the need for a school.

In examining the evolution of schooling in Yellowknife, particular attention will be given to those factors which bear a direct or indirect relationship to Catholic educational interests in the Mackenzie. Accordingly, the following discussions will review educational developments in Yellowknife in terms of their consequences or implications upon Catholic schooling, and will be, for the most part, comparative in nature: (1) clientele; (2) representations; (3) establishment; and (4) assistance.

Clientele

There is nothing to indicate that Yellowknife's settlers saw any role for the Indian in their community, nor was there any question in the minds of either governmental or Catholic church authorities about the

undesirability of Indian residence in the mining camp. Indians were kept away, with the result that the indigenous fact which had always been a crucial factor in district schooling programmes was entirely absent in the new town. That Yellowknife's educational requirements were seen solely in terms of the needs of white settlers is evidenced in the following report on the school's clientele shortly after its opening in 1938:

...we look in at the little log school, where a dozen white children are writing their final examinations under the painstaking supervision of Miss Mildred Hall...⁸⁴

Yellowknife's exclusively white population meant that the Catholic church, for the first time in its Mackenzie experience, faced a schooling situation in which it could not use the denominational school clauses of Indian legislation as a means of providing Catholic schooling. If there was to be a Catholic school in Yellowknife, it would have to be established on other, and needless to say, unfamiliar terms.

Representations.

Among the matters raised at a March 1938 meeting between T. A. Crerar (Minister of Mines and Resources) and several individuals who had mining interests in the Yellowknife area was the question of schooling.⁸⁵ Nothing was decided in regard to the latter, but the department, upon receiving further representations from Yellowknife for government aid for schools and other facilities, decided to send R. A. Gibson there to assess the validity of these requests. Before leaving Ottawa, Gibson directed a bureau official to inform Bishop Breynat that there were fourteen school-age children in Yellowknife, and

to ask "Would you kindly let me know whether you have given any consideration to the establishment of a school at this point."⁸⁶

This inquiry was more or less based on the canons of the church-territorial schooling entente. A school was needed in Yellowknife, what if anything did the church plan to do about it? The administration received a reply in August. According to Breynat's secretary, the bishop would be away for a year, and had "left no word in regard to the establishment of a school at that point. So it is impossible for the present to give a definite reply to your inquiry."⁸⁷

About the time this letter was written, Gibson was in Yellowknife receiving requests for school assistance from two petitioners, Mr. V. Ingraham and Mr. H. Geigerich, who informed him that "a mission school of either denomination [Anglican or Roman Catholic] was not considered to be an adequate arrangement."⁸⁸ With this in mind, Gibson returned to Ottawa, and doubtless must have been pleased to learn of the church's temporizing. In September he submitted a report to Council on the Yellowknife school situation, advising the administration to allocate a \$500.00 grant to the community, on condition that it provided a school, hired a teacher with the proper qualifications, and followed either the Alberta or Saskatchewan curriculum.⁸⁹ For the time being, the residents of Yellowknife were satisfied with this arrangement, which was, of course, identical to the one given the mission schools in Smith. In the spring of 1939 a visiting journalist, after touring the small school located midway between the Consolidated Mine and the Yellowknife settlement, heralded its advent enthusiastically, especially as it was "the first and only non-sectarian school in the Northwest Territories."⁹⁰ Father Gathy,

pastor of the Yellowknife Catholic parish, would hardly have agreed with the journalist's non-sectarian preference; in any event, he saw to the religious instruction of the school's Catholic enrollment by holding catechism classes for them each Sunday afternoon.⁹¹ Moreover, it will be seen that Father Gathy and other Catholic missionaries eventually found the school's non-denominational character intolerable.⁹²

Establishment

In the fall of 1938, a committee of parents known as the provisional school board, finding the \$500 grant inadequate, appealed to Edmonton wholesalers and to the territorial government for twice the operating allowance. At a meeting near the end of November, Council decided not to increase the grant "for the time being"; instead it reminded the board of "The School Ordinance."⁹³ The administration was also being pressed to assist other local projects, and in the spring of 1939, it submitted to Council a draft entitled "The Local Administrative District [L.A.D.] Ordinance" which, if passed, would provide the community with a form of local government. The draft and an amendment giving the local trustee board, or village council, authority to grant "sums of money from time to time in aid of schools within the district" was assented to on July 3, 1939.⁹⁴ As this ordinance would have permitted the L.A.D. to assess property and levy taxes for school purposes, there was no longer any need for the provisional board to proceed with the erection of a school district according to the terms of the old territorial school ordinance. It is important to note that if the provisional board

accepted this arrangement, Catholic ratepayers, who were in the minority,⁹⁵ would have been unable to form a separate school district, as no minority of ratepayers (Protestant or Catholic) could form a school district unless a district, as defined in the Ordinance, already existed.⁹⁶ In the event Catholic ratepayers achieved a majority position, they could form a school district, but this possibility was remote when one considers and projects their numbers in the settlement. Whether the department's legal officers saw any denominational ramifications in the L.A.D. Ordinance is not known, but T. L. Cory, Council's chief legal advisor, was thoroughly familiar with the old territorial ordinance. In a memorandum prepared for the department in June 1937 over the possible transfer of the Yukon to British Columbia, Cory wrote at length on separate schools: "[It] appears to the undersigned that this contentious and inflammatory religious question, among many other points involved, stands out as the most difficult to handle." While his warning to the department "to avoid creating another severe and heated controversy over the present slumbering religious question" applied to the Yukon,⁹⁷ it is not entirely out of context when viewed in the light of the L.A.D. Ordinance. For if the provisional board accepted the ordinance's schooling arrangement, it would have meant that Catholic educational interests would have had to rely either on the local trustee board's generosity for a share of school funds, or on the territorial government's willingness to introduce a viable denominational school ordinance, when and if they wished to have their own school. Needless to say, an affirmative response from either of these parties would have reopened the "religious question."

When Gibson visited Yellowknife in mid-July, the provisional board, made up, it seems, of the community's most active citizens, all but ignored the recently passed ordinance; it was immediately concerned with raising \$3500 "for the erection of a school building for the coming term." Gibson's suggestion that they "endeavour to erect a school district as outlined by the Ordinance"⁹⁸ is puzzling, especially as he had advocated the amendment permitting the local trustee board to act as the school board.⁹⁹ In any event, Gibson's remarks prompted the board to act; a meeting was held on August 24 at which a school district was formed according to the schedule in "The School Ordinance."¹⁰⁰ It would appear that the meeting did not have the commissioner's prior approval as to the district's limits and name; in fact, the district's boundaries were not determined until after the forms were received in Ottawa.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the commissioner gazetted the erection of the Yellowknife School District No.1 on September 30, 1939.¹⁰² At first the school board did its own assessing and collecting; however, shortly after the Yellowknife Local Administrative District began operating in January 1940, the L.A.D. Ordinance was amended empowering that body to "act as assessor and collector of taxes for school purposes...when requested to do so by the board of a school district."¹⁰³

Throughout the period of the founding of the Yellowknife school district, Catholic authorities made no official comment on its coming into existence. But when the Church moved to establish a Catholic school in the community, it was more than interested in the public school's origins. This interest will not be examined here,¹⁰⁴

except to note that the church reflected considerably on the ease with which the public school district was created, and on the fact that its existence gave a legal basis for the founding of a Catholic district.

Assistance

As has been indicated, the implementation of correspondence courses, of provincial curricula, of family allowances, and of the ordinances relating to schools enhanced the schooling chances of significant numbers of white children in the district, while these same measures tended to have a neutral, if not negative, effect on the educational opportunities of native children. In terms of their per pupil amount, territorial school allowances had a similar white bias. In 1944, for example, the territorial government paid operating grants equalling \$50.00 for each Yellowknife pupil, or \$38.00 more than it accorded each of its wards at the Catholic school in Smith.¹⁰⁵ Before the end of the second world war, no mission (native) day school received any governmental capital allowances; on the other hand, the territorial government authorized capital payments totalling \$3500 to the Yellowknife school during its first four years of operation.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, children in Yellowknife together with their white counterparts in Smith received most of the government's examination and correspondence school subsidies.¹⁰⁷ The Yellowknife school had another fiscal advantage in that its costs were partially met by local taxation. While the local school board initiated this source of income, taxation benefits would not have been realized without the territorial government's acquiescence; nor would they have been

available for long had the territorial government not firmly resisted demands by the principal mining concerns to have local assessment and taxation suspended.¹⁰⁸ Referring to the founders of schooling in his community in a 1961 radio address, G. Brown (chairman, Yellowknife public school board) recalled: "It was not for them to wait until Ottawa supplied lavish school establishments or generous grants."¹⁰⁹ It is nevertheless apparent that Yellowknife, as a white enclave, extracted schooling subsidies from the territorial government far in excess of those permitted native settlements.

Although the territorial government never affirmed that it was promoting one school policy for whites and another for natives, a separate white schooling policy gradually emerged as a result of its decisions concerning correspondence instruction and the public schools at Yellowknife and Fort Smith. At first there were at least intimations that white schooling arrangements would be in the hands of one or both of the churches, but in time the churches' intermediate role in public and correspondence schooling was all but abrogated, and subsequent deliberations concerning such affairs occurred in a similar context. As the churches gave up schooling whites except for the occasional few in mission centres, the territorial administration in response to and in liaison with white residents formulated a different set of schooling subsidies and policies for white children which aimed at duplicating as far as possible the educational standards of the prairie provinces. While the administration was content to maintain the fiscal and other supportive terms of its native schooling entente with the church, its increasing awareness of the schooling expectations of white residents and its relatively energetic

attempts to realize them led it to believe that the new forms of white schooling were similarly desirable for native children. The reasonableness of this expectation was questionable especially because few innovations could be hoped for in the native schooling alliance unless its fiscal and supportive terms were drastically revised. Moreover, while the administration lauded the benefits of a white-oriented curriculum and encouraged the missions to adhere to its imperatives, it also, especially when demands for greater support were advanced, referred to the mission schools' traditional role of preparing native children for a wilderness existence, a preparatory function which was largely antagonistic to the objectives of a white-oriented curriculum. Confronted by two different curriculum propositions, Catholic educational interests wavered between them, justifying their failure to realize the objectives of either by referring to a variety of circumstances. At the same time, the church had no doubt about the importance of religious instruction which was after all the raison d'être of its formal schooling enterprises, and the one curriculum element about which it felt no need of advice from any quarter.

By the end of the war, two forms of territorial schooling were in operation: the first was white-oriented, secular, often segregated, relatively well-funded, almost universal in application, and in keeping with the ambitions of the newly arrived; the second was native-oriented, denominational, poorly funded, usually segregated, and of partial application. Furthermore, native ambitions were variously interpreted, not by native parents themselves who were judged unable to understand the advantages presented to them, but by the churches, who

despite their internecine feuds, believed that they were promoting the true interests of the native population and that they, aided by the federal government, would in time bring their charges to what had always been visionary levels of political, economic, and religious well being. Whether or not such expectations were realizable in the mission schools of the 1940's could be expected to be one of the questions that Andrew Moore would answer following his assessment of the schooling in the district in the summer of 1944.

1. Camsell, Son of the North, 1-4.
2. Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 225-226.
3. Breynat, Cinquante Ans. I, 69.
4. Pilkey to investigator, June 12, 1967.
5. Harris, a Catholic, enrolled three of his children at the Catholic school in Simpson when it opened in September 1918. Register, R.C. School, Fort Simpson, 1918-1928. Conibear, a Protestant, who had been hired by Breynat to service the steamer Sainte Marie, turned down the bishop's offer to have his children sent to the Anglican school at Hay River
 "Non ! me dit-il. Je sais que mes enfants m'apprendront rien de mal aupres de vos religieuses: Cela me suffit!"
 Breynat was nevertheless apprehensive about Doris, the oldest of the Conibear children, who had been at a public school in Ontario, and who would be, he feared, "trop avancée" for the mission school. According to the bishop, this was not the case: "Quelle ne fut pas notre surprise, à la première composition, de constater qu'une de nos petites Indiennes, Madeleine Fat, se classait avant elle, au premier rang!" Breynat, Cinquante Ans, II, 231.
6. "Extract from a 1939 educational report, which included the Mackenzie District," quoted in letter of S. A. Smith (librarian, Officer of Canadian Committee, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg) to investigator, June 21, 1967.
7. Minutes, December 28, 1927, I, 49.
8. The Yukon School Ordinance (Consolidated Ordinances of the Yukon Territory, c.79 [1914]), differed only in minor respects from the corresponding chapter in the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories (vide supra, 96.). When Council compared the two sets of legislation in 1927, the principal difference between them was that the Yukon ordinance was in use - at least four school districts were constituted under its sections; whereas the territorial ordinance, except for one sub-section, was entirely inoperative. Report of Director of Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1930, (Ottawa, Department of Interior, 1930).
9. Vide supra, 67 .
10. Breynat to Finnie, September 1, 1928 , Ed., AVM.
11. Breynat, Cinquante Ans, III, 229.
12. Vide infra, 445.
13. Minutes, December 28, 1928, I, 56.

14. Sermon, Breynat, January 25, 1940, 101-16, AVM.
15. Estimates, December 1930, 600-4, I, RCO.
16. Vide "Memorandum for Auditor-General," McKeand (secretary, Northwest Territories Council) to Turner, May 17, 1939, 600-4, I, RCO.
17. Breynat to Piché, June 11, 1931, Smith Histoire, SGM, xlix. Four months earlier, Breynat wrote T. Murphy (minister of the Interior) resubmitting the memorandum he had sent Finnie in September 1928 (vide supra, n.10), noting "As far as I can see conditions are the same now as they were then." February 2, 1931, Ed. AVM.
18. "Qualifications Des Institutrices (Smith)," SGM to investigator, July 20, 1966.
19. Breynat to A. L. Cumming (Northwest Territories councillor) May 31, 1932, 101-21, AVM. It may be that the "agreement" referred to in the above letter was reached at Council's meeting on February 3, 1932, vide infra, n .20.
20. E. N. Grantham (Department of Resources and Development) to Director, March 31, 1954, 600-4, I, RCO.
21. Minutes, December 1, 1933, II, 414.
22. Breynat, Cinquante Ans, III, 229.
23. Minutes, December 1, 1933, I, 414.
24. Breynat, Cinquante Ans, III, 229.
25. "Fort Smith, August 20, 1935," Statistiques, AVM.
26. During its six years of operation (1933-1938), the Anglican school had at least four teachers. Minutes, July 3, 1936, IV, 825; December 29, 1936, IV, 847; December 16, 1938, VI, 1459.
27. St. John's (Fort Smith Anglican School) average daily attendance dropped to 4.3 during the quarter ending September 1935. H. Holman (clerk, Department of the Interior) to Gibson, December 18, 1935, TAU.
28. R. Gibson, "Report on Inspection Trip," in Minutes, August 1938, VI, and ibid., September 29, 1938, VI, 1460.
29. Ibid., December 16, 1938, VI.
30. Ibid., January 30, 1939, IX, 2108-2109.

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., April 2, 1940, IX, 2201 .
33. The Fort Smith public school board had taken steps to establish a Local Administrative District which would have provided the municipal framework for the erection of a school district. The application was dropped from Council's agenda in November 1940. Minutes, November 1, 1940, X, 2416. For an account of Yellowknife's attempt to form municipal institutions, vide infra, 300 .
34. Ibid., February 11, 1941, XI, 2460.
35. Ibid., September 9, 1943, XIII, 3117.
36. "Résumé 1943-1944," Statistiques, AVM.
37. "Declaration" [trans], July 7, 1939, 101-14a, AVM.
38. Breynat to Finnie, September 1, 1928, Ed., ibid.
39. M. Meikle to Cumming, November 16, 1945 630-100-3, 720, PAC.
40. Minutes, April 2, 1942, XII, 2742-43.
41. Enrollments were as follows: 40 pupils at Fort Smith (R.C.); 13 pupils at Fort Smith (public), "Schools in the N.W.T." [memorandum for council], April 24, 1944, TAU; Minutes, XIII, 3152-3153.
42. Vide Breynat, Cinquante Ans, III, 366-388.
43. For an account of Breynat's break with the Oblate-Indian Committee, vide supra, 176 .
44. Breynat, Cinquante Ans, III, 386.
45. For a discussion of Trocellier's role in school affairs, vide infra, chapters VII to XI.
46. Minutes, January 11, 1944, XIII, 3126. The cost of these examinations was met by the territorial administration. This arrangement was made for the Yellowknife and Fort Smith public schools only. Ibid.
47. The medallions were distributed to all school-age children in honour of the King's visit. As there were only 300 children of all ethnic groups actually receiving schooling in 1939, the administration decided to provide all the estimated 975 white, half-breed and Eskimo children of

school age with the souvenir. Minutes, February 20, 1939, VII, 1696; ibid., March 7, 1939, VII, 1713.

In April 1944 Council was informed that "a report on the Swedish system of education for nomadic tribes" had been requested. Ibid., April 25, 1944, XIII, 3161.

48. Ibid., September 28, 1932, II, 260. No information was given concerning the applicant's location or denomination, nor was the church, which was to act as donor, named. Ibid.
49. Gibson noted the reaction of Yellowknife and Fort Smith citizens to correspondence instruction in his "Inspection Trip Report, August, 1938," ibid., VI, 1398 [1-10].
50. Ibid., September 29, 1938, VI, 1459-60.
51. Vide report in Minutes, January 10, 1939, VI, [1-3].
52. J. P. Harvey (Indian agent, Fort Norman) to Gibson, September 25, 1945, 630/114-1, 224 PAC.
53. A. L. Cumming to Gibson, May 31, 1938, 630/118-1, I, 225 PAC.
54. Vide Précis for 155 Session of Council, March 18, 1944, 630/118-1, I. Fleming to Gibson, May 15, 1955, ibid.
55. Précis for 155 Session of Council, March 18, 1944, ibid.; Gibson to Dewdney, September 27, 1944.
56. Précis for 155 Session of Council, March 18, 1944, ibid., M. Meikle to Gibson, May 29, 1944, ibid.; Gibson to G. F. McNally (deputy minister of Education, Alberta), June 6, 1944; A. S. Dewdney to Gibson, August 27, 1944, ibid.; Gibson to Dewdney, September 27, 1944.
57. On September 7, 1944 Gibson wrote Rev. Dewdney to the effect that the administration was only considering paying a portion of the revised correspondence costs. Ibid.
58. D. Dewdney to Gibson, December 14, 1944, ibid.
59. Gibson to Alderwood, January 3, 1945, ibid. Before writing Alderwood, Gibson wrote Cumming as follows: "Before we make any recommendations to..Council..we should write Alderwood...and tell him of the representations made by Mrs. Dewdney and ask him to suggest a definite proposal as to what should be done." December 28, 1944, ibid.
60. Alderwood to Gibson, January 17, 1945, ibid. The Indians had given him \$600.00 towards a school.

61. Gibson to R. Hoey (Indian Affairs), September 1, 1945, ibid.
62. Ordinances, c.106, s. 142-148 (1905). The sections were still in effect in 1956. Revised Ordinances, c.86, s.102-107 (1956) .
63. For an account of the founding of the Yellowknife school district, vide infra, 302 .
64. Vide supra, 217 .
65. For an attendance analysis, vide supra, 234 and 248.
66. Gibson to Breynat, July 4, 1941, Ed., AVM. For an earlier report on unsatisfactory attendance conditions at Smith and Simpson, vide Fallaize, "Rapports 1921-1935," June 2, 1936, AVM.
67. Ordinances, c.106, s.142-148 (1905).
68. Gibson to Trocellier, November 16, 1945, 630/100-3, 220 PAC.
69. Moore's report is analysed in the next chapter.
70. Trocellier to Gibson, November 26, 1945, 630/100-3, 220 PAC.
71. Statutes of Canada, 8-9 Geo. VI, c.40 (1944-1945).
72. Canada Gazette, August 25, 1945, August-October, 1945, LXXIX, 3712-3713.
73. R. A. J. Phillips, Canada's North, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), 229.
74. Vide Carney, passim.
75. Canada Gazette, August 25, 1945, August-October, 1945, LXXIX, 3715.
76. For a discussion on the Sutherland memorandum as it applied to Indian children, vide supra, 191.
77. Canada Gazette, August 25, 1945, August-October 1945, LXXIX, 3715.
78. Ibid., 3713.
79. Trocellier to Gibson, November 19, 1945, Ed. AVM.
80. Gibson to Trocellier, November 23, 1945, ibid.
81. The normal fee for residential school attendance, exclusive

transportation costs, was \$10.00 a month. Breynat, "Reglements concernant Les Ecoles," June 20, 1941, Divine Providence, SGM, xxix, 2. Family allowance payments were based on three age groups: \$6.00 (6-10), \$7.00 (10-13) \$8.00 (13-16). Statutes of Canada, 8-9 Geo. VI, c.40 (1944-1945).

82. Form IA411 (Immaculate Conception Aklavik), September 30, 1946, 145/25-2-915, IAO.
83. Vide supra, 137.
84. R. Finnie, Canada Moves North (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), 135.
85. C. Camsell, 'Minutes of Meeting in Royal York Hotel between Minister and Principal Men Concerned with Mining in N.W.T.," March 16, 1938, in Minutes, V, 1288.
86. J. W. K. Lock to Breynat, August 12, 1938, Ed., AVM.
87. Husson (?) to Gibson, August 19, 1938, Ed., AVM.
88. Minutes, August 14, 1938, VI, 1402 .
89. Ibid., September 29, 1938, VI, 1460.
90. Finnie, Canada Moves North, 135.
91. Church Bulletin, St. Patrick's Mission, Yellowknife, ?, 1945.
92. Vide infra, for an account of the establishment of Yellowknife Separate School District No. 2., 511.
93. Minutes, November 24, 1938, VI, 1615.
94. Canada Gazette, "Local Administrative District Ordinance," July - September, 1939, LXXIX (1), 529-536.
95. The Roman Catholic population of Yellowknife in 1941 numbered 481 of a total population of 1,410. Included in the Catholic total were 232 Indians, but as Indians did not attend the public school, it meant that the Catholic school population was not more than 25 percent. R. J. Davy (deputy assistant, Dominion Bureau of Statistics) to Investigator, September 8, 1967.
96. Ordinance, c.75, s.2(5-6), s.41 (1905).
97. T. L. Cory, "Memorandum re Proposed Transfer of Yukon Territory to the Province of B.C." (mimeographed), (Ottawa: Department of Mines and Resources), 43-49, Special Collection, U.B.C. Library.

98. "Memorandum of Meeting of Local Committee (Yellowknife)" July 19, 1939, Minutes, VIII, 1916-1917.
99. "[Mr. Gibson] explained that when there is a properly constituted school board no funds are available other than that government grant and it was thought that the [L.A.D.] ordinance might be amended to indicate the powers of a school board. Mr. Gibson said there was no intention of having two taxing bodies for local purposes and thought it advisable to clothe the Local Trustee Board [three federally appointed and two locally elected members] with the powers of a school board." Ibid., June 26, 1939, VII, 1875.
100. Council reviewed the minutes of and a packet of documents from the Yellowknife school board on September 11, 1939. Ibid., VIII, 1943.
101. According to the Ordinance, the "first school meeting" was not to proceed until the commissioner had given his approval "to the limits...of any proposed district." Ordinances, c.75 s.14 (1905). Council was still debating the school district's boundaries several weeks after the school meeting. Minutes, September 11, 1939, VIII, 1943. In any event, "...Such notice [gazette] shall be conclusive evidence of the erection of the district and that all the necessary formalities have been complied with." Ordinances, c.75, s.33 (1905).
102. Canada Gazette, September 30, 1939, LXXIII (1), July-September, 1939, 1029.
103. Ibid., May 11, 1940, April-June, 1940, LXXIII, 3483.
104. For an account of the establishment of the Yellowknife Catholic School district, vide infra, 511.
105. Operating grants and enrollments at the two schools in 1944 were as follows. Yellowknife, \$1,500.00, 30; Fort Smith, \$500.00, 40. "Schools in the N.W.T." [Memorandum for Council], "April 24, 1944, TAU, 3; RAGC, 1944, \$2000 of Yellowknife's operating grant had been given previously as a capital allowance, vide infra, n. 106.
106. Council authorized capital payments of \$200 on August 13, 1940, and \$3500 (\$2,000 of which was in advance of operating allowances) on April 18, 1942. Minutes, X, 2400, and XII, 2770.
107. For an account of correspondence course utilization, vide supra, 289. Payment of examination fees was authorized only for the public schools at Smith and Yellowknife. Minutes, January 11, 1944, XII.

108. The administration replied to objections expressed by mining interests concerning their inclusion in assessment areas by pointing out that the mines were expected to make some contribution toward the needs of the community. Vide C. Camsell to R. Diamond (president, Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company), October 19, 1939, in ibid., VIII, 1972; Gibson to C. McCrea, (Negus Mining Company), October 15, 1940. X, 2402.
109. "Education Radio Address Recalls School History in Yellowknife," News of the North (Yellowknife weekly newspaper), March 16, 1961.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MOORE REPORT

During July and August 1944, Dr. Andrew Moore, a secondary school inspector from Manitoba, visited all settlements in the Mackenzie which had schools in regular operation. In November he drafted what was, in effect, the first survey of educational conditions in the district and submitted it to the Northwest Territories administration and to the organization which sponsored his inquiry, the Canadian Social Science Research Council. Before Moore's submission, the territorial and Indian administrations were in receipt of or had access to occasional reports on the condition of schools, such as Christie's (1873), Conroy's (1910), Kitto's (1920), Moran's (1922), Finnie's (1930), Urquhart's (1934), and Christiansen's (1936),¹ but none of these could be considered either school inspections or educational surveys. Although Bourget's (Indian agent, Fort Resolution) observations on the Catholic school at Providence in 1930 were more detailed than most school visitors' comments, his responses (underlined) and the form on which they were recorded, No. 217 (Agent's Report on Residential Schools), are typical of the expectations and the assessments of those officials who visited the mission schools.

Routine - At the time of my visit there were: -
50 pupils in the classrooms - Are the registers kept
up to date? Yes.

Health, Sanitation, Etc. - Appearance of pupils
Good. Cleanliness of School Good. Appearance of school
grounds Good. Care of the sick Good. The children's
meals Good.

Vocational Training - Domestic Instruction Good.
Instruction in Farming and Gardening... - Training in
the care of Live Stock One or two big boys. Care of

Agricultural Machinery and Other Equipment...

General - Discipline of the School Good. Efficiency of the School Good. General Management Good. Suggestions ...?²

For the most part such reports emphasized what was strikingly apparent, namely, the pupils' physical appearance and the physical conditions of schools. The usual criteria of school reports, especially evaluations of the teaching - learning environment, received scant attention, and whenever reference was made to such matters, they were characteristically brief and uncritical. Territorial officials and RCMP officers visited the schools occasionally, principally for special events such as school openings, but any observations they made were incidental to the main substance of their regular reports.³ Indian agents, as medical officers, visited schools more frequently, but as they were charged with a multitude of non-school responsibilities, they did little more than attend the sick. Moreover, there is no evidence that reports like Bourget's were submitted regularly; brief statements in the agents' annual reports as to the number of pupils and their general condition constituted the schooling assessment normally available to both administrations.

Although Gibson, following a trip to the Mackenzie in 1938, wrote Breynat to express his satisfaction with the work of Catholic schools,⁴ he was beginning to have doubts about mission schooling, especially after listening to the complaints of white residents at Smith and Yellowknife. In fact his report made particular note of a suggestion of one parent who:

...strongly urged that the Department have a qualified

school inspector visit Fort Smith while the school [Anglican] was in session so that it might be determined why the children were not making the progress desired.⁵

During the fall of 1938 and throughout 1939, the territorial administration initiated a correspondence instruction scheme and fostered the establishment of public schools in Smith and Yellowknife. In January 1939 Council, after determining that mission schools were not adequately meeting "the needs of white residents," adopted the following recommendation:

That arrangements be made for an inspection every year or two of the schools in the Northwest Territories by a school inspector with qualifications equivalent to those required in the Provinces, the inspector to be authorized to examine closely the degree of education provided, submit suggestions for improvement and report the progress made by the pupils in each institution.⁶

There can be little doubt that the recommendation was largely a response to dissatisfaction emanating from the two principal white settlements, for when special schooling arrangements which seemed to satisfy the white parents of Smith and Yellowknife had been completed, no further references to the need for a school inspector were made.

In April 1944, after receiving a memorandum on territorial schools which suggested "that a qualified school inspector inspect the schools of the Mackenzie...and afterward assist in the consolidation and amendment of the Ordinances...,⁷ Council decided to invite "a qualified educator from the Province of Alberta to survey and report on schools in the Mackenzie District...."⁸ What prompted this decision is not known, it is possible however that Council, having learned that the Canadian Social Science Research

Council planned to conduct an educational survey in the Mackenzie, wished to affirm that it had similar intentions. In 1943 following an announcement by the research council that the "Canadian Northland...should be made the subject of special exploratory research under the auspices of the Council,"⁹ a special committee, chaired by H. A. Innis, was formed which decided that the project should include studies of health, education, population, and natural resources in "the territories lying north of comparatively continuous settlement..."¹⁰ Early in 1944, despite difficulties in obtaining investigators, several were chosen, among them Dr. Moore and Dr. G. J. Wherrett who were to survey educational and health conditions in the Mackenzie that summer. Sometime in May the territorial administration learned of the research council's choice, when Moore called upon Gibson for information.¹¹ At a hurriedly convened session in June, Council agreed to give Drs. Moore and Wherrett \$2,000 for travel expenses.¹²

Andrew Moore

Born in Avonmore, Ontario, in 1890 of Irish-United Empire Loyalist parents, Andrew Moore attended public schools in Ontario and Manitoba. He first entered the University of Manitoba in 1912, graduating, after service in World War I, with a B.A. degree in 1920. After gaining a B.Sc. in physiology in 1921, he was appointed registrar of the Manitoba Department of Education, and while holding that position he completed an LL. B. From 1928 to 1944, except for a three year leave of absence with the R.C.A.F. and the Canadian Legion War Services, he was a secondary school inspector in Manitoba.

In 1933 he attended the International Folk High School in Elsinore, Denmark. He also lectured (mathematics, science, and audio-visual methods) at several Manitoba summer schools, and in 1943 completed a Ph.D. (administrative law, educational administration and statistics) at the University of Toronto, submitting a thesis entitled "Educational Administration in Manitoba with Special Reference to the Statutes and Regulations Concerned."¹³

Some indication of Moore's educational views can be garnered from his secondary school reports during the period 1928-1944. Generally speaking, his remarks on curricula, examinations, school financing and facilities could be termed moderately progressive;¹⁴ such observations as "several schools formerly in charge of progressive School Boards are now in the hands of skinflint elements," or "in their [teachers'] struggle for existence they must produce these examination results or go to the wall..."¹⁵ are typical of his dissatisfaction with what he often considered an inadequately financed, examination-ridden, university-directed high school programme. Of particular interest in terms of his Mackenzie survey are his comments on folk high schools, the teaching of French, and the place of religion in the curriculum. Before considering these, however, it should be noted that his reports contain no references to Indian or Métis pupils, and that this together with the fact that his expertise was largely in secondary schooling raises some doubt as to his suitability for a survey of elementary and aboriginal schooling.¹⁶ Impressed by the vitality of Scandinavian Folk High Schools and their emphasis on a non-university, life-centred curriculum, Moore often referred to them as reorientation models for

Manitoba's high schools; and while there is no indication that the folk high school concept made any impression in Manitoba, it might have proved to be more viable in the Mackenzie, where high school instruction was almost non-existent and where there was a climate of opinion for vocational-type programmes at all levels of schooling. Although his argument for French instruction in elementary grades occurred in only one report,¹⁷ his support of and reasoning for early second language teaching is significant considering the important role that French had in most Mackenzie Catholic schools. After referring briefly to the sectarian school "controversy" of 1890, Moore reviewed the two existing (1938) provisions for religious instruction in the public schools of Manitoba:

First, there is provision for 'Religious Exercises' which must take place at a certain specified hour and which must consist only of certain prayers and designated passages from the Bible which must be read without comment. Second, 'Religious Teaching' which is permitted only during the last half-hour of the school day and which may consist of whatever religious education the church authority conducting it may see fit to authorize.¹⁸

The Public Schools Act permitted the scheduling of periods of religious instruction only if authorized by a majority of trustees or petitioned by a specified number of parents or guardians.¹⁹ Some Catholic communities had utilized these provisions, but much to Moore's regret, little initiative in this regard had been demonstrated by other denominations, whom he felt were badly informed about, rather than indifferent to, the possibilities for religious instruction.²⁰ Although he was a firm advocate of religion in the schools, he was in entire sympathy with another section of the Act which forbade "the separation of pupils...during secular school work."²¹ Accordingly, his position was untenable insofar as Catholic interests in the

Mackenzie were concerned, as their schools were based on the principle of separation at all levels and for all forms of instruction.

Mention should also be made of one of the principal themes in his doctoral dissertation, namely:

What began as a highly decentralized provincial school system in 1871 has now (1936) been almost completely metamorphosed into a highly centralized system.²²

Finding "the disadvantages of the present high degree of centralization" to be "greater than its advantages," Moore concluded his study with a number of recommendations which aimed at reducing the powers of the advisory board and the control of the central authority, that is, the Department of Education.²³ It is unnecessary to detail his recommendations, except to note that his penchant for decentralization will be recalled when his proposal concerning an educational authority for the Mackenzie is reviewed.

1. An Assessment of Catholic Schooling

Moore's report submitted to the Research Council and the territorial government in November 1944 was never published.²⁴ Summaries of it in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science (1945)²⁵ and in C. A. Dawson's (editor) The New North-West (1947)²⁶ did not contain several significant passages on denominational schooling included in the original. All references, therefore, except those concerning significant deletions in the published summaries, will be from the original manuscript.

After exchanging views with "responsible officials [Jackson, Hoey, Gibson] of the Dominion Department of Mines and Resources,"

Moore outlined his assignment, which hitherto had been broadly defined by the research council, as an educational survey, more specifically:

- (a) to inspect Indian Residential and Day Schools as well as non-denominational schools for children who are not wards of the Dominion government;
- (b) to survey all educational facilities and activities therein;
- (c) to make recommendations for improving educational services therein.²⁷

Moore's comments on Catholic schools in terms of the first two criteria will be reviewed as follows: (1) inspection itinerary; (2) information for Indian Affairs; (3) general observations; and (4) comparison with Anglican and public schools. His recommendations will be analyzed in the next section.

Inspection Itinerary

With a list of persons to contact in the district given him by Gibson,²⁸ Moore made a quick tour of the Mackenzie in late July, visiting all the Catholic schools, in addition to the Anglican one at Aklavik and the public ones at Smith and Yellowknife. In the day school centres he was shown empty classrooms, but at the residential schools those children present were asked to read, sing, and pose for photographs. As well as meeting those directly involved in schooling, he also talked with government officials, trappers, traders, and several members of the school and local administrative boards in Yellowknife. Within two weeks - a few hours at Providence, an afternoon's conversation at Simpson, about a day at Aklavik for both schools,²⁹ - he was on his way back to Winnipeg, where aided by letters from sisters at Providence, Aklavik, and Simpson concerning timetables and curriculum, and a review of the disposition of mission

school graduates by Father J. Turcotte, the pastor at Simpson, and Sister Dussault, the principal at Aklavik,³⁰ he set about writing his report.

Information for Indian Affairs

Table X summarized Moore's responses to a series of questions which the Indian Affairs Branch gave him prior to his leaving and which he used as basic assessment criteria for his visits to the district's six denominational schools. In themselves the requests for information appear reasonable; in fact, the first four criteria indicate an unparalleled interest on the branch's part in the schools' instructional environment. On the other hand, the criteria are significant only in direct proportion to their relationship to existing schooling expectations and regulations of the branch and the territorial administration. Before considering Moore's responses, then, the extent to which he was aware of the role played by the two federal agencies in the Catholic school's operation and direction should be determined.

It is apparent that the territorial administration, despite its framing of the terms of reference and its overt support of the Moore inquiry, either did not inform him of its past performance and its specific responsibilities with regard to territorial schooling, or if it did, Moore did not make use of such information. As has been indicated in chapters VI and VII, the territorial government had enunciated a series of policies concerning the schooling of its charges in Catholic institutions - such matters as subsidy amounts and entitlements, correspondence, manual arts, nurses' aides and reindeer

TABLE X

SUMMARY OF MOORE'S COMMENTS ON CATHOLIC SCHOOLS*

Information requested by Indian Affairs Branch	School Date of Visit	Fort Smith	Aklavik July 24 - 26	Fort Simpson	Fort Providence	Fort Resolution
1. (a) An outline of the course of study now provided...		Mainly Indian Affairs	Adapted Alberta	Adapted Alberta	Indian Affairs	Indian Affairs and French (Religious precepts interspersed through exercise books.)
(b) "...adequacy of these courses to meet the peculiar needs of the Indian population."		C ²	C	B (Has good pupils garden plots)	C	D
2. A report on the proficiency of the pupils in the use of the English Language and their aptitude in working out simple problems in Arithmetic.		<p>Item No. 2 is omitted. Since classes were not in operation very little information concerning proficiency in English and Arithmetic could be secured. The few pupils encountered at some of the schools were quite diffident in conversing with strangers with the possible exception of some pupils at Fort Resolution. They all seemed to understand and reply to questions in English but these contacts were too superficial to form any reliable judgment. Nothing was learned of their knowledge of Arithmetic.</p>				
3. (a) A report on the Textbooks in use...		Indian Affairs and Alberta	Alberta	Alberta and Indian Affairs	Indian Affairs plus	Indian Affairs
(b) A report on the supplementary readers in use, and their suitability.		C	C	C	C	D
(c) Sufficiency of supplementary reading		D	C	B	D	D

	<u>Fort Smith</u>	<u>Aklavik</u>	<u>Fort Simpson</u>	<u>Fort Providence</u>	<u>Fort Resolution</u>
4. (a) The academic standing of the teachers in charge of classroom work...	Elementary School	1. Man.Gr.X 2. Mass. Elementary	Manitoba Gr. IX	1. Massachusetts Grammar School 2. Quebec Gr. X	1. Quebec Elem. 2. _____
(b) ...professional standing...	Uncertificated	Uncert.	Uncert.	Uncert.	Uncert.
(c) ...the teaching experience of these teachers in (a) Indian schools (b) white schools	not given				
5. (a) A report on the condition and furnishings of the school building	A	B	A	B	B
(b) Classroom accommodation	B	A	A	B	B
(c) Lighting and sanitary conditions	B	B	B	B	B
(d) Cleanliness	A	A	A	B	B
(e) Heating equipment	C	A	B	B	B
(f) Athletic grounds	C	B	B	B	C
(g) Sports equipment	C	B	B	C	C
(h) Fire escapes	Unnecessary	Unnecessary	Unnecessary	Inadequate	Inadequate
6. An expression of opinion on the adequacy of the courses now provided in health and personal hygiene.	C	B	B	B	B

* Source of Data: Moore-Manuscript, 21-24.

1. "With respect to Item No. 1 concerning the adequacy of the courses for Indian children one cannot help but be struck by the paucity of suitable vocational and occupational courses." (Ibid.,22).
2. "Interprelation[sic]: In connection with the terms 'adequacy,' 'suitability,' etc., the legend:

A	means	80% to 100%	perfect,
B	"	60% to 80%	"
C	"	40% to 60%	"
D	"	20% to 40%	"
E	"	0% to 20%	"

apprentice instruction --but there is no reference in Moore's report to the territorial government's financial and regulatory involvement. While he was aware that non-Indian pupils attended these schools, he viewed them as Indian institutions and directed his part one comments

"Principally Concerning the Denominational Schools [to] the attention of the Indian Affairs."³¹ That Moore did not know the territorial

government was responsible for Eskimo education is illustrated in a section of his report which refers to the territorial Indian Eskimo school-age population and infers that the Indian Affairs subsidy for the fiscal year ending in March 1943 was the total school allocation for both groups.³² One source of this misunderstanding may have been

a statement he received from R. Hoey (Indian Affairs) which implied that there was at least theoretically, a common set of schooling regulations for Indians and Eskimos.³³ This was not so; the territorial

administration was not only solely responsible for Eskimo education, it also carried out its responsibility with policies that differed from those of the Indian Affairs Branch. If Moore had considered the territorial government's role, it is quite possible that he would have found the Indian Affairs criteria inadequate, at least insofar as non-Indian instruction was concerned; however, he did not raise the issue, except to suggest that details "concerning enrolment, attendance, financial condition, etc... were no doubt available in the files of the appropriate authorities in Ottawa."³⁴ As four Catholic schools scored in

the 40 to 60 per cent range in terms of the appropriateness of their curricula for Indian pupils, the question arises as to whether or not these schools would have fared better or worse if, for example, the needs of white children, one of three territorial ethnic groups, were

considered in terms of the courses of studies. One can only speculate as to the answer because of Moore's Indian-denominational frame of reference.

Shortly after Moore returned from the Mackenzie, he heard from R. A. Hoey:

I think you are absolutely safe in the preparation of your report to proceed on the assumption that regulations governing educational effort amongst Indians and Eskimos in the Northwest Territories are practically non-existent.³⁵

Hoey's statement is not clear. Did he mean, for example, that the "Indian Day School Regulations" and the "Programme of Studies for Indian Schools" (vide Appendix C), which was printed on the inside and the back cover of the branch's register, were not being observed at any of the Catholic schools? Apparently this was Moore's interpretation; in fact, he quoted these regulations in their entirety noting that the day school regulations were the only regulations "now extant" and that "those in charge were living up to their own conceptions of school law and regulations not because they had to do so as much as because they wished to do so."³⁶ It would appear that Moore was only slightly more informed about the branch's school policies than he was about territorial ones. For instance, he mentioned nothing about the subsidy criteria which had been formulated back in 1910 and which had been further delineated in Sutherland's and other related regulations. Nor did he refer to the branch's role in staffing approvals, curriculum circulars, attendance and term regulations, or to other matters discussed in chapter VII, which did so much to regulate the character and direction of the Catholic schools. Although he referred to the arrangement by which the Indian Affairs Branch "delegat [ed] its

responsibility for the education of Indian children to the Churches and [paid] them grants for their services,"³⁷ he did not analyze the contractual nature of the agreement or examine the regulatory conditions of payments. If he had been aware of the existing school policies of the branch, he would have been able to view its requests for information in better perspective. Like H. A. Innis who pointed out that Moore's survey was far from being "exhaustive" and it had as its primary purpose the stimulation of "interest" and the development of "basic work,"³⁸ Moore emphasized that his report had many historical as well as other "shortcomings."³⁹

It is unfortunate that Moore's estimate of the courses of study was not more descriptive; for instance, one might assume the garden plots of Simpson added to its rating, but it is difficult to determine what factors lessened the adequacy of Resolution's curriculum, or for that matter, what made one curriculum for Indians more adequate than another. As he was unable except indirectly to give an evaluation of the pupils' proficiency in English or arithmetic, the whole question of curriculum suitability was left unanswered. Moreover, his statement that Indian Affairs textbooks were used in four of the five Catholic schools is unenlightening as only a fragmentary Indian Affairs list existed. Except for Fort Smith, the Catholic schools were rated "sixty to eighty per cent perfect" in terms of the adequacy of their personal hygiene courses. The sketchy outline for this course in the Indian Affairs programme (vide Appendix C) makes it difficult to understand how one could have assessed this item without having seen a class in session. Similarly, Moore's rating of the suitability of supplementary readers, notwithstanding their number, raises the question as to what

he had in mind as an alternative.

With regard to the professional standing of the teaching sisters, Moore's evaluation is also subject to question. About a month before he submitted his report three of the seven sisters judged as uncertificated had obtained a Brevet Complémentaire from the Council of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec.⁴⁰ Whether or not the possession of such a certificate would have made any difference to Moore is not known, but the Indian Affairs Branch had evidently assured the Oblate Indian committee in 1942 that this certificate was sufficient and that no other would be required.⁴¹ The requested teaching experience résumé would have been valuable - the nuns had taught for an average of ten years (none for less than five) in the Mackenzie -⁴² but this was not mentioned. Nor was reference made to the fact that the Branch had not enforced the teacher qualification clause of the 1910 agreement or the 1932 Fort Smith teacher qualification requirement.⁴³

Moore's comments on school premises substantiated remarks made by previous school visitors; it is worth noting, however, that the Simpson and Smith Schools which were completely financed by mission funds rated higher than the other schools which had received a variety of building subsidies and which were in receipt of Indian Affairs "Class A" allowances.

General Observations

While Moore emphasized that his visit was not to be construed as an inspection, he had no hesitation in judging the level of instruction in mission schools to be "considerably below that of...prairie schools," a rather invidious comparison considering a statement later in his

report that prairie schooling was "hopelessly inadequate."⁴⁴ Among his list of causes for this state of affairs were the following: uncertificated teachers, inadequate school libraries, a lack of adult education, inappropriate school law and regulations, native indifference to school attendance, and a failure to relate the curriculum to the child's environment.⁴⁵ He hastened to point out, however, that nowhere did anyone in charge of or teaching in these schools seem to have anything to hide and that he was sure that teachers in the mission schools had "considerable native ability for teaching and the children under their care are receiving a service incomparably greater than if there were no schools at all."⁴⁶ He saw his informants' opinions polarizing about two "extreme" positions. Most viewed existing forms of native schooling to be preparation for the trapping life, but "more than one old time resident of the Mackenzie" argued that the natives were "better off without any of the white man's schooling"; while others, especially those involved in schooling, claimed that although

...an Indian boy who had spent four or five years in a residential schools was not likely to be...as efficient in the life of an Indian generally, after a year or two spent with his kind he was more efficient than were boys who had not gone to school.

On the other hand, there were those who claimed that "Indian children were entitled to the same opportunities in education as are to be found anywhere else in Canada."⁴⁷ As will be seen in his recommendations, Moore believed that the path to follow lay between these "extremes."

Comparison with Anglican and Public Schools

As the Church of England day schools at Hay River and Forts Simpson and McPherson were either closed or operating irregularly,⁴⁸ Moore

reported on the Anglican residential school at Aklavik only, giving it a slightly higher overall rating than the Catholic institutions. Its teachers held "recognized" first class professional certificates (Alberta and Ontario), and it ranked "A" in terms of the suitability of its supplementary reading. On the other hand its curriculum grading (Alberta curriculum) was a rank below Fort Simpson's (adapted Alberta curriculum).⁴⁹ Moore, however, was not opposed to native pupils following the regular Alberta curriculum; in fact, he was pleased to learn that the Anglican school was considering having its pupils "Take the tests provided and marked by the Correspondence Branch of the Alberta Department of Education."⁵⁰ The denominational schools' main shortcoming, therefore, was that they had not made their pupils meet Alberta grade requirements, and notwithstanding expressions concerning the appropriateness of these requirements for native pupils, the Anglican school was praised for its initiative and the Catholic schools, at least by implication, were chastised for their continued allegiance to a wilderness course of studies.

While he had some reservations about the public or non-denominational schools at Yellowknife and Fort Smith, notably their lack of suitable diagnostic and remedial tests and supplementary reading and library materials, he was pleased with their "high levels of instructional efficiency."⁵¹ This judgment was largely based on the success public school pupils had with Alberta Correspondence Branch examinations. Apart from several ambiguous references, he did not mention the factors which made such results more likely in the public than in the denominational schools. The former, for example, had lower teacher-pupil ratios, higher per pupil and capital grants, and a clientele oriented to a

provincial curriculum. He went on to note that white parents in other settlements wanted non-denominational schools; and, where the Yellowknife-Fort Smith model was impossible, he advocated special schooling arrangements, such as itinerant schoolmasters, in places like Resolution.⁵² One is not able to determine from his comments, however, if it was not the racial rather than the religious or academic character of mission schools which was the crucial factor behind the schooling preferences of many whites.

Although he did not question the intentions of those involved in Catholic schooling, his negative assessment of almost every aspect of their work made their endeavours seem pointless. Consequently it is not surprising to find that his recommendations disregarded the traditional aspirations of the missionaries. He probably thought that they would not protest the imperative as well as reasonable reforms he had in mind; if nothing else, their vulnerability on almost all counts would surely force them to accept.

2. Recommendations and Government Policy

Having "inspected" and "surveyed" the educational facilities and services of Indian and non-denominational schools, Moore turned to his third and final term of reference - "to make recommendations for improving educational services therein,"⁵³ submitting twenty recommendations (vide Appendix D) as the basis for a Mackenzie District educational system. When these are reviewed, it is apparent that he advocated changing the existing pattern almost entirely by making all publicly supported schooling the direct responsibility of a single authority. In order to indicate the extent to which he thought education should

be transferred from denominational to state control, the following recommendation categories will be examined: (1) denominational interest; (2) staffing and curriculum; and (3) administrative structure.

Denominational Interest

The mission churches' role in such matters as staffing, finance, curriculum and administration of schools was to be abrogated except for a concession outlined in recommendation eight:

...Legal provision be made under which the last half hour of the regular school day may be devoted exclusively to the denominational religious teaching when desired - the law in this respect in the Province of Manitoba is probably as good as anywhere and its adaptation for use in the Northwest Territories is highly recommended.⁵⁴

According to Manitoba school law,⁵⁵ there was to be no denominational segregation of pupils until the last half hour of the school day when religious teaching was permitted providing a petition had been properly submitted to the board of school trustees. The statute also outlined the conditions for hiring teachers of the same religion as the pupils. In addition to these allowances Moore thought the regulations of the Manitoba advisory board should be adopted, listing in an appendix the board's latest schedules of prayers, hymns, and scripture readings.⁵⁶ There is little doubt that Moore thought these proposals reasonable if not magnanimous, but when it is recalled that the mission schools had never been subject to any restriction regarding either the amount or kind of religious teaching or exercises they could impart, they undoubtedly appeared otherwise to Catholic interests, especially when viewed in the context of recommendation seven:

Having regard for all circumstances at present existing in the Northwest Territories it is further recommended that Separate Schools should not be included in any publicly supported

system of education which may be established in the Northwest Territories. This is not to be construed as a condemnation of Separate Schools per se.

Denominational schools, he explained, should not be "unceremoniously ejected"; they along with their staffs should be given the option of being "absorbed" into the state system. Evidently it did not occur to Moore that Catholics might counter such a takeover by referring to the school clause of the Treaties, or to the stipulations of the Indian Act, or by utilizing the separate school sections of the Ordinance. Moreover, his absorption scheme, if implemented, would have necessitated substantial capital and operating outlays by the state which previously had strenuously avoided any such expenditures.

The far-reaching and controversial religious teaching and school takeover proposals were not included in the published versions of his report.⁵⁷ Perhaps he had been advised that they were inopportune; in any event, neither recommendation seven nor eight was made public. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the territorial Council found them unreasonable; for that matter when it first reviewed his recommendations in February 1945, it advised caution on fiscal rather than legal or sectarian grounds, suggesting their implementation when "funds [were] available."⁵⁸

Staffing and Curricula

In October 1944, R. A. Gibson (deputy commissioner) wrote Dr. J. Harvey (Indian agent, Fort Norman) noting "that the whole matter of education was being reviewed by Dr. Andrew Moore...and it is hoped that we will be able to do something worthwhile in the near future."⁵⁹ This evidently did not mean that Gibson thought Moore's report would result

in costly changes. A month earlier, for example, he wrote Dewdney suggesting that the forthcoming report would "recommend a possible extension of correspondence courses,"⁶⁰ but when one reviews Moore's staffing and curricula recommendations, it is evident that he had a clear, although perhaps a fiscally reckless, idea of what was worthwhile.

Compared to existing educational expenditures the costs of Moore's staffing recommendations were astronomical. Not only were all teachers to have first class teaching certificates and full civil service status, they were to be given a year's special training before assuming their duties as well as a year's sabbatical leave after five years' service. In addition, there were to be annual teachers' institutes to which "outstanding lecturers will be brought from the 'outside' at public expense." A scholarship plan was to be initiated; highly trained teachers were to be engaged for circuit teaching; and specially selected natives were to be trained and returned to their bands "to act as teachers and counsellors."

The report's curricula recommendations were no less ambitious, not to say expensive. A fully equipped occupational training centre was to be located at Yellowknife; special community training institutions were to be established at Salt River (near Fort Smith) and at Coppermine; selected residential schools, "after [their] takeover by the state," were to be restructured as Folk High Schools; and school barges, outfitted as adult training centres, were to rendezvous during the summer months with native bands along the shores of Great Slave Lake. A library service for the Mackenzie was to be initiated, and a special "not too academic...middle of the way curriculum" was to be designed and implemented. Needless to say, he made no reference to the sectarian

interests which had traditionally influenced nearly all curricula matters.

Administrative Structure

Undismayed either by legal issues or denominational interests, Moore designed an administrative structure which was predicated on the establishment of an "up-to-date" system. In particular he found most of the old territorial ordinances to be exceedingly anachronistic, recommending their replacement with legislation that would give one authority, the territorial Council, control of all publicly supported education. Except for a passing reference to the Indian Act, he did not examine the sectarian, legal, or administrative complexities which would accompany the transfer of responsibility for Indian schooling. The territorial Council was to be responsible for "Indian, mixed-blood and white" schooling and would determine all school regulations and policies. It would appoint a "Director of Education" who was to reside in the territories and who would "have wide powers and a very free hand to organize and administer the educational system." The system itself was to be highly centralized, a recommendation contrary to his thesis argument on school administration in Manitoba, but justifiable, he thought, in that it was "most suitable for the Northwest Territories at the present moment." Local school bodies, such as the Yellowknife board of school trustees, would continue to function, but in an advisory capacity only. An educational advisory council, composed of nine members "carefully selected from representative laymen and clerics," was to be constituted; and although it would possess no "legislative, judicial, or executive powers," it could advise the director on such matters

as examinations, curricula, text-books, and teacher-training. The advisory council's suggestions were not to be ignored, at least not by the director, as it had the right to appeal to the territorial Council whenever it felt that he was becoming "unduly bureaucratic." Another restraining influence on the director's actions was the stipulation that his administration would be subject to review "every ten years." When the territorial Council reviewed Moore's report in February 1945, it rejected none of his recommendations, yet tabled all but one of them, and even then avoided using his terminology when it approved "the immediate appointment of a school inspector."⁶¹

3. The Catholic Reaction

In early July 1944, Gibson advised Trocellier of Moore's visit suggesting that they meet to discuss educational matters;⁶² however, Trocellier left Smith for a mission tour before Moore's arrival and the meeting never occurred. In any event Trocellier, according to one mission record, had already been "secrètement prévenu de cette visite clandestine," probably by Father J. Plourde (Oblate Indian commission) who had informed the missionaries at Aklavik that "Moore a été envoyé par Ottawa pour faire une inspection minutieuse de tout ce que nous faisons."⁶³ Plourde's message was undoubtedly widely circulated and must have caused some apprehension, but when Moore visited the mission schools, the sisters found him "gentlemanly"⁶⁴ and their Chroniques indicate they believed him to be highly satisfied with their work. On entering the Fort Smith school:

"...cet ancien maître d'école [Moore] jeter un regard de satisfaction tout autour de lui et s'exclama: 'This is a school' ...Puis s'adressant à Soeur Grégoire: 'Vous savez mettre du coeur dans votre travail'...."⁶⁵

At Fort Providence, he had two or three children read, "puis il sembla satisfait";⁶⁶ he expressed similar pleasure after visiting the Simpson school;⁶⁷ and at Aklavik, after having the children do various exercises, he seemed "agréablement surpris...[et] satisfait."⁶⁸ One sister worried about the doctor's reaction to the "deux écoles et deux hôpitaux à Aklavik,"⁶⁹ but this was unnecessary as he did not mention this phenomena. Except for Father J. Turcotte at Simpson who "observed a number of questionable opinions expressed by the official [Moore] and took much pain to correct some of his statements,"⁷⁰ the Oblates did not, at least at the time, attach much significance to his visit, as they were, as one missionary put it, "more interested by the numbers of fish and the new litter of pups...and the Germans pulling out of France...than the Moore Report."⁷¹

In September, nonetheless, Trocellier wrote Gibson expressing regret at not seeing Moore and indicating that he was interested in his findings.⁷² There is no evidence, however, that Trocellier had access to these until after an edited version of his report, which excluded recommendations seven and eight, was published in February 1945.⁷³ The Oblate Indian commission then mimeographed the article, forwarding it to its membership throughout the country with the following note:

Copie d'un Rapport sur les écoles des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, fait à la demande de l'administration de ces territoires par...Andrew Moore....Comme il contient des recommandations tendancieuses, il est peut-être bon que les membres de la Commission en prennent connaissance et y répondent.

Cette inspection est probablement le prélude d'inspections du même genre pour toutes les écoles indiennes.⁷⁴

In discussion with the commission, Trocellier was advised that it might be better if the commission replied to the report for him, but

he refused this, believing he could do as well as anyone.⁷⁵ In July 1945, after carefully reviewing his marginal notations on the report, he wrote at length to Moore.⁷⁶ Just why he wrote Moore rather than the territorial government is not known; in any event, Moore did not answer his letter, nor did he amend the edited version before it was published again in 1947.⁷⁷

Trocellier's rejoinder to Moore was essentially a spirited apology for the status quo, and although he conceded the merit of some of Moore's remarks, he seemed more concerned with refuting his "utopian" proposals, as well as defending the mission schools, especially their staffs and curricula.⁷⁸ He regretted that Moore's visit "failed to coincide with some portion of the actual school year"; if it had, he reasoned "such a circumstance would largely have influenced your final judgment of the school question... enough to have given you a far better perspective in formulating your remarks." On the other hand, he ignored several major recommendations. Of the eighteen in the edited version, Trocellier specifically referred to only eight in his letter, although his notations in the mimeographed copy indicate he favoured others, such as those concerning scholarships, compulsory education, and teachers' institutes.⁷⁹

As for the school barge and community centre projects, he thought them impractical. A "barge load of education," especially in the scenic country around Snowdrift might not fail to impress an "enthusiastic school-barge teacher, but would hardly aid in educating the Indians." The Salt River project was "Utopian" as the natives had abandoned the place. Some consideration should be given, however, to locating such

an enterprise in Fort Smith. If the special schooling proposals were realized in the areas around Great Slave Lake, Trocellier wanted it known that as "all of the Indians...were Catholics, the Church claims the right to educate them, or at least insists on the presence of Catholic teachers," but because of the nomadic nature of the people, such special arrangements would ultimately prove fruitless. In his opinion, "the only really recommendable school for the children of Indians and half-breeds living the life of Indians, [was] a boarding school."

The grouping of Eskimo children in the camps south of Coronation Gulf was similarly impractical, unless it were possible to keep the caribou "within reasonable distance of the camps." Some thought might be given to having a summer school at Tuktoyaktuk, but a more reasonable plan would be to build a hospital and a residential school at Coppermine. He had no doubt the sisters would be prepared to staff both. Indeed, the establishment of Catholic institutions in this predominantly Anglican area would not only have realized the aspirations held by Bishop Breynat in the 1930's,⁸⁰ but would also have effectively countered a rumour current in Aklavik shortly after Moore's departure:

Les Pères de la Côte nous ont appris que le Gouvernement faisait ériger une école et un hôpital neutres à Coppermine. Quel coup de glaive dans le coeur de ces missionnaires qui avaient tant espéré de ce poste central.⁸¹

Trocellier judged Moore's remarks on mission school teachers as "an open injustice...and wholly inexact," claiming "at least five teachers in the Catholic schools which you visited last summer are graduate teachers."⁸² In any event, what was more important than "books, or formulas and certificates" was whether a teacher could teach - an ability "which a whole desk full of certificates cannot supply."

He went on to cite instances where non-graduate sisters successfully trained children "who come out of the bush for perhaps the first time in their lives" and compared their work and sacrifices in helping those "whom no one else, anywhere, was either prepared or inclined to educate," with Moore's praise of the Anglican teachers at Aklavik. Parents had withdrawn their children "from the Anglican school and sent them to the Catholic school for the sole reason, as they expressed it, that their children 'didn't learn anything.'" He was certain that all of the Catholic teachers had the necessary qualifications required of a good teacher, but if it could be proved that any did not, "I myself should be the first to demand their withdrawal." On the other hand, he was not against improvements, especially the recommendation for special training for educational work in the Northwest Territories, yet the bishop wondered "if those who really believed such systems [itinerant school masters or certificated teachers] to be practical... [were] actually acquainted with the true nature of the educational problem...[in] this part of Canada." Would certificated teachers, for example, be prepared to accept a "one way ticket north, and \$600.00 per year" for all personal and professional expenses, [to teach] "Indian children who have never heard a word of French or English?" According to the bishop, this was unlikely; in fact, he saw them abandoning their tasks to rest or perhaps recuperate "at Miami or Palm Beach (and at considerably more than \$600.00 per year)." This did not mean he thought the present grants sufficient; what was needed was more government assistance to maintain the "present standard":

If the Government were to lend a more active support in favor of the schools already established, I am certain that our teachers...can do all that you desire in the educational

sphere. Government support, not control, of private enterprise, develops a spirit of cooperation which brings down inestimable blessings upon a nation....

Trocellier also had much to say on curriculum and here, as in other areas, he was defensive, even querulous, assuming, for instance, that Moore agreed with the contention held by some that "the boys attending white men's schools are neither good Indians nor good Whites." To exclude "what has been done thus far..amidst great difficulties" was an omission "unwarranted from every point of view"; moreover, it was unfortunate that the report seemed "to ignore the fidelity with which our schools have adhered to the plan which is now proposed as being the ideal...namely, 'the middle-of-the-way' curriculum." Contradictorily, he then argued that the same curriculum was inadequate for native children until they reached the age of ten or twelve, only to reverse his position shortly thereafter by affirming the "middle-of-the-way curriculum has long been the very object of our teaching in the North." Moore's ten-part curriculum was reviewed, and the bishop, after adding an eleventh element - "religious instruction is given to Catholic children, since the Church has the right and the duty to see to this" --went on to explain how the mission schools had already largely achieved the "various phases" of Moore's course of studies. However, such references as "practically speaking, they are not yet ready for such a course..." or "such a plan presupposes entirely too much on the part of the Indian's nature" or "the intrinsic nature of the Indian having completely different qualities...than those possessed by whites" indicate, whatever the bishop may have said about favouring "modern methods of education," that he was convinced that the wilderness was the best as well as the inevitable destination for practically all

native children.

Trocellier's position was by no means unique. Once almost universally accepted, though more recently abandoned by some government officials, it was still tenaciously held by most Catholic missionaries. Several months after Trocellier's letter to Moore, Bishop Breynat, before joining Trocellier in retreat at Fort Smith, wrote⁸² his old friend Milton Martin in Edmonton enclosing a mimeographed article, dated March 1935, which he thought worthy of publication in the Edmonton Journal. On the premise that "the worst thing that may happen to a nation ...would be the passing of that nation into oblivion," the article noted that Indian languages and Indian life, trapping and hunting activities in particular, were on the decline in Canada, and if nothing were done to preserve them, they were in imminent danger of "destruction." In order to avoid such "evils" as these, the article recommended that native languages be introduced in all Indian schools together with courses in syllabic characters, based on missionary texts, so that Indian school children "may not appear inferior, in Indian reading and writing, to the members of the Tribe who do not go to...School." The objection that such a curriculum "would prevent Indian children... from reaching the standard of white children" was summarily dismissed:

A high standard of education is not to be sought for the Indians at large, it is time and money lost to fill the minds of Indian children with a whole lot of instruction which may be of no avail to them in the life they will be expected to live, once they go back among their fellow tribesmen.

The whole purpose of Indian schooling, therefore, was simply to prepare them for a higher standard of "Indian life according to the customs and ancient traditions of their tribe," not to encumber them with a white man's curriculum:

...It would be quite superfluous to keep Indian boys in the school over the age of 13 or 14, because at such an age boys are fit to help on a farm or to go with their fathers on the trapline. In the same way, from the age of 14 on, Indian girls remaining in the schools should be taught, mainly, housekeeping duties.⁸³

In other words, the missionaries saw schooling as a preparatory experience for life in the wilderness, where the native way and the Christian ethic could be interrelated and sustained. Any attempt to upset this relationship was to be avoided, if not strongly resisted; and however spiritually centred and wilderness-oriented it may have been, it was a point of view which those who would attempt to implement Moore's recommendations would have to reckon with.

PART II SUMMARY

During the 1921-1945 period, the missionaries facilitated the coming of increasing numbers of migrants to the Mackenzie frontier. Among the newcomers were government officials who were welcomed to the Oblate stations, where they worked in close liaison with the missionaries in overseeing the indigenous population. In time, however, the church-state entente became less co-operative, especially with regard to the schooling of whites; and by the end of the second world war, even the efficacy of the church's native schooling system was being openly questioned.

The church's role as an initiator of new schools ended in 1926 with the Aklavik project. This foundation, having been realized despite vigorous Anglican and government opposition, was the last time the church proceeded on its own. After the Aklavik embroglio, the church realized it could not locate schools in other and often strategic places with any hope of subsidy unless such foundations were authorized beforehand.

Consequently, although it did consider and make representations for establishing schools at places like Coppermine, its energies were largely devoted to having the number of schooling places and the corresponding grant structure increased. Moreover, the church's penchant for residential schools limited its hopes for expansion. When the Indians at Rae asked for a day school, Breynat refused to forward their request to the Indian administration - a body, incidentally, which after Aklavik had assumed responsibility for establishing schools, and which subsequently had done nothing whatsoever. Shortly after having lost its aboriginal schooling prerogatives, the church was confronted with the demands of white parents, which were favoured by the territorial government. If the church had accepted territorial offers of headship of the public schools at Smith and Yellowknife, it would have been forced to compromise its long-held principle of religious segregation for educational purposes. In refusing to do this, it placed itself in a position where comparisons between its schools and the public ones would inevitably favour the latter. In such circumstances, it could do little more than adhere to the wilderness curriculum which the Indian administration had advised it to follow; however, when this administration arbitrarily and without notice abandoned the wilderness concept, the church was left in an extremely vulnerable and isolated position which, nevertheless, it continued to uphold.

During the period the church strongly influenced the educational programmes of both the territorial government and the Indian Affairs Branch. While the course of schooling in the Mackenzie was affected by the precedents established by the Regina and Indian administrations of the pre-1905 era and by agreements like the one concluded between the

department and the churches in 1910, the Indian administration, having concluded Treaty 11 with the Oblates' assistance, soon found itself ruling on missionary requests for allowances for graduates, more authorized residential school places, improved and extended subsidies, and increased grants for supplies, salaries, and equipment. As these allowances were provided for Reserve Indians in farming areas, their amount and rationale were often unsuited for the hunting bands of the Mackenzie. Despite their anachronisms, they were more generous than territorial school subsidies; so much so that the territorial government, in response to continuous church pressure, initiated residential school grants based on Indian Affairs formulas.

During the 1930's, the territorial Council, in determining its aboriginal school policy, succeeded in having the Indian Affairs Branch agree, in the Sutherland memorandum, to a common set of educational regulations for all indigenous children. Once an aboriginal educational policy had been formulated, the territorial government gave most of its attention to making special educational arrangements for the schooling of whites in places like Smith and Yellowknife. White schools, favoured with special subsidies, quickly became models, whose worth and efficiency stood in marked contrast to the wilderness-oriented denominational schools.

Although the church occasionally pointed out the inapplicability of the old territorial educational ordinances, it was generally content with the legislation if for no other reason than its inoperativeness. From time to time, the territorial government indicated its intention to revise the ordinances; however, they remained unamended and for the most part unused. The principal point of church-territorial

contact continued to be a section of the ordinance - sufficiently open-ended for both parties, which authorized grants to schools "whether organized according to law or not." The church was able to obtain grants without having its educational activities unduly circumscribed; and the territorial administration could always increase or reduce its grants according to any fiscal or regulatory formula. By 1938, however, the church had obtained maximum benefit from this ad hoc arrangement. In exchange for providing schooling facilities for territorial wards, the church, although it continued to press for more and better subsidies, enjoyed almost unlimited educational jurisdiction.

With the establishment of the public and non-denominational schools in Smith and Yellowknife, the situation changed. The territorial government's uneasiness about the alliance, occasioned by increasing representations from many Mackenzie settlements for improved educational arrangements, was evidenced by its open criticism of the missionary school system, and by its unparalleled reluctance to entertain church requests for new ventures. During the war there were signs that the territorial government viewed the entente as a temporary affair, one to be endured until the advent of territorial control. By the mid-1940's, it was too late to have the Catholic non-Indian schooling system guaranteed by territorial, or even more importantly, federal legislation, as the time had passed when the territorial government would have delegated its responsibility (in statutory terms) to the churches in exchange for subsidies. The opportunity for an arrangement similar to the denominational clauses of the Indian Act had not been seized in the 1920's when the territorial

government might well have entertained such an assignment. Whatever policies had been made previously were essentially meaningless as they were nothing more than arrangements authorized by a financial clause which could be arbitrarily countermanded or withdrawn.

The Mackenzie inherited the denominational sections of southern territorial school law as well as the sectarian teaching provisions of Indian treaties and statutes. Territorial legislation was of little importance; for that matter, changes in Indian school regulations from 1921 to 1945 were equally insignificant, but Breynat and his colleagues had the feeling that the federal government would uphold the denominational rights laboriously achieved by Tache and Grandin. Early in his episcopacy, Breynat learned that access even to the Prime Minister's office was possible, and later that petitions to men like Meighen or Murphy, or to such co-religionists as Dorion or Manion were invariably successful. If his requests were ignored, access to members of the Cabinet was always possible through eastern archbishops. Moreover, his demands were seldom contentious; small school grants were easily included in supplementary estimates, and such favours to remote northern regions demonstrated the good will of many if not the tolerance of most federal officials. Funds were sometimes unavailable, but the reasons given were never because of concern over the church-state schooling liaison, rather that any enlargement of existing agreements would have to wait until a more appropriate fiscal period. In the south, Breynat's Oblate confrères, daily witnesses of the difficulties between secular clergy and provincial school administrators, were much more apprehensive

about the future, but their efforts to enlist Breynat's support for their causes tired him, so much so that he withdrew his assistance entirely, finding them overly concerned with unimportant issues.

There is no evidence that Breynat gave second thought to the introduction of the Alberta curriculum. What bothered him was the headship proposal, yet his and Trocellier's failure to delineate the form and substance of a northern Catholic curriculum undermined the rationale and ultimately the future of a Mackenzie Catholic educational system. Unfamiliar both by training and vocation with the patterns of Canadian education, Breynat, believing in the value of long-term and only partial acculturation, succeeded in completely isolating Catholic schools from the south, and in doing so, ill-prepared them for the criticism that was to come with the opening of the frontier. What is even more important is that he failed to secure special legislation guaranteeing the goals which the Oblates of the Mackenzie so avidly espoused.

Throughout the period under discussion, the Oblates adhered to the residential school concept, believing it to be the best method of secular and Christian schooling. Quite apart from their educational role, these institutions, like the mission hospitals, were centres of material and religious comfort. It was frequently argued that a few large residential schools were better than many smaller ones, not only for financial and staffing reasons, but because the distance between home and school meant that interns were not easily removed. Moreover, interns, away from the squalor of the camps, were adequately clothed and properly nourished - both physically and spiritually - and notwithstanding the scandalous actions of some,

it was believed that the behaviour of most graduates was exemplary.

Originating as part of hospital foundations, day schools were secondary rather than primary undertakings, and continued largely because of the resources of the larger institutions, or as counter measures to Anglican schools. The opening of the Rae hospital would have facilitated a day school foundation, but this would have been contrary to the Oblates' residential bias, as well as unnecessary as there was no rival. Despite the fact that the Indian Affairs Branch favoured the establishment of day schools from the mid-1930's onward, the church remained opposed to them. That its day school pupils did as well academically as its residential ones was not a matter of concern; Christian formation, rather than achievement in basic skills, was the criteria of success, and the church had no doubt that this was best accomplished in school residences. While the branch might have granted subsidies for day schools at Liard or Good Hope, there is no evidence that the church favoured recruiting Catholic laymen or that it contemplated sending sisters to such places. Religious communities like the Grey Nuns, not only had no place for the laity within their disciplined structure; they also could not, according to their rule, isolate one of their members for teaching purposes.

Although the church was anxious to prepare apprentices for the Reindeer Project, practically the only government undertaking based on something more than the primary curriculum, it received only vague directives and virtually no financial support for the scheme. Government directives concerning manual arts or domestic training were also well received, but the missionaries, with only their own

resources, again found it difficult if not impossible to put them into effect. If anything, the church was more progressive than either governmental agency in terms of planning extended or improved forms of instruction for native children, but its representations in this regard were invariably premised on the assumption that such training would prepare them either for camp life or menial northern occupations. A few graduates were sent to the provinces, usually to specially selected Catholic institutions; however, there was always a reluctance to send children south, where it was feared they would be easily corrupted. By the early 1940's, the church had formulated a schooling policy which directed most native children to the old ways of living. White children and the few native children who aspired to other than traditional vocations would have to reach them without church assistance.

While both the territorial and Indian administrations made known their delegation of educational responsibility to the churches in the Mackenzie, their public pronouncements indicated very little, except for vague affirmations about continued progress or subsidy amounts, concerning the direction or form of native schooling. In terms of its Mackenzie wards, the Indian Affairs Branch was seldom asked to justify its educational policies; at times it had to mollify the apprehensions of some whites in the Mackenzie, including its own agents, who questioned the prevailing system, but other than its continuous but generally cordial dialogue with the churches, its principal concern seems to have been a desire to keep within its annual appropriation. Indians were not matters of public interest either in the Mackenzie or on the national scene, as most Canadians

either were ignorant of their condition or indifferent to it.

As a result, the church-state schooling alliance was never seriously questioned, and the Branch having operated within it for so long, rather than doubting it, continually affirmed its excellence by praising its moral and fiscal worth. The territorial government was similarly disposed to its Métis and Eskimo wards. Having imitated Indian Affairs policies, it showed even less initiative than its mentor in schooling its charges, in fact, it succeeded in restricting even the limited ambitions of the Indian administration in its determination to have a common and inexpensive wilderness school policy. Although it made special arrangements for the schooling of whites, its aboriginal policy, despite some attempts to the contrary, remained the same.

Until the beginning of the second world war, the educational goals of the church and the two state agencies were almost identical. By 1945, however, as a result of such factors as white settlement, the Moore Report, intensive resource and military activity, and a Council sensitive to its record of inactivity, the church, almost without knowing it, had lost the confidence of its partners, who, although unwilling to break the alliance, were increasingly anxious to find an alternative, before the tragic conditions in the Mackenzie were publicly assigned to their negligence.

1. Vide supra, chapter III, Moran "Local Conditions in the Mackenzie District," ARDI (NWT), 1922, 16-17, ibid., 1923-1930, passim; vide supra, chapters V-VII, passim.
2. A. Bourget, "Agent's Report on Providence Residential School," July ?, 1930, 139/23-5-918, IAO.
3. Vide reference to an RCMP report in Hoey to School Principals. Vide supra, 212.
4. Gibson to Breynat. September 26, 1938, AVM.
5. R. Gibson, "Report on Inspection Trip," Minutes, August, 1938, VI, 1403.
6. "Memorandum for Northwest Territories Council, Education, N.W.T.," ibid., January 19, 1939.
7. "Schools in the N.W.T.," ibid., April 24, 1944, XIII, 3152.
8. Ibid., April 25, 1944, XIII, 3160.
9. Canadian Social Science Research Council Annual Report, 1945, V, 11. Cited hereinafter as CRCAR.
10. Ibid., 1944, IV, 5; ibid., 1943, III, 7; D. M. Michaud (assistant to the executive secretary, Social Science Research Council) to investigator, August 17 and 22, 1967.
11. The first reference in territorial correspondence to Moore's appointment was found in a memorandum by J. Doyle dated May 24, 1944, 630/118-1, I, 225 PAC.
12. "Special Meeting (telephone)," Minutes, June 20, 1944, XIII, 3163.
13. Biographical sources: Annual Reports of the Manitoba Department of Education, 1921-1944, passim, cited hereinafter as ARMDE. "Programme of the Final Oral Examination for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy" in Andrew Moore's "Educational Administration in Manitoba with Special Reference to the Statutes and Regulations Concerned" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1943), cited hereinafter as Moore-Thesis.
14. In the post-World War II evaluation of progressivism, Moore favoured Bestor's and Neatby's side (Vide L. A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School [New York: Vintage Books, 1964], Chap. IX: and H. Neatby, So Little for the Mind [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1953]). His concern about the "New-Fashioned School" is detailed in "An attempt to Clarify Some Issues in Current Educational Thought and Practice," Transactions and Proceedings (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada,

June 1954), XLVIII, Series III, Section Two, 25-34.

"I am quite prepared to plead guilty to being at least moderately progressive with a small 'p'. I have however, vigorously opposed the Progressivism with a capital 'P' which contends that a child must never be frustrated, and that he must only do what he likes to do, and for whom you make everything easy. All over this continent we are paying the price of the varying degrees of this Progressivism which have invaded our schools. We sowed the wind; we are now beginning to reap the whirlwind. In short, I object strenuously to being classified as a Progressivist (with a capital 'P')." Moore to investigator, October 7, 1967.

15. ARMDE, 1934, 101; ibid., 1937, 137.

16. "There may be some doubt as to my 'suitability for a survey of elementary and aboriginal schooling' but the fact that my 'reports contain no references to Indian or Métis pupils' is quite irrelevant. The schools were not in normal operation when I was there in July and August.

There is some justification, however, for my attempting this assignment. My Normal School training was almost entirely on the elementary school level. My first three years of teaching were in one-room rural schools. I also taught Grade Eight for a term in the schools of the City of Winnipeg. For five years I served as Principal of one-room high schools, taught one year in Souris six-teacher Collegiate Institute, and taught for one term in the Collegiate Department of Wesley College in Winnipeg. I also taught in the City of Winnipeg Evening Schools.

As a matter of fact I have inspected all Grades from One to Twelve, inclusive, in one of the large private schools which came under my jurisdiction in Winnipeg." Moore to investigator, October 7, 1967.

The point is that Moore, as a secondary school inspector, had had little to do for some time with elementary classes; moreover, there are no references in his published Manitoba reports to Indian or Métis children.

17. Ibid., 1930, 95.

18. Ibid., 1938, 139-140.

19. Statutes of Manitoba, 20 Geo.-V, I, c.34 s.5 (1930).

20. ARMDE, 1938, 139; Moore-Thesis, 174-175.

21. ARMDE, 1938, 138.

22. "Abstract," Moore-Thesis, i.

23. Moore-Thesis, 414-419.

24. Andrew Moore, "Report of an Educational Survey Conducted in the Mackenzie District of the Canadian Northwest Territories During the Months of July and August, 1944," Education Office, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fort Smith, N.W.T., November, 1944. (typed copy) Cited hereinafter as Moore-Manuscript.
25. A. Moore, "Arctic Survey II, Survey of Education in the Mackenzie District," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XI (February, 1945), 61-82. Cited hereinafter as Moore-Journal.
26. A. Moore, "Education in the Mackenzie District," The New North-West, ed. C. A. Dawson (Toronto; The University of Toronto Press, 1947), 245-269. Cited hereinafter as Moore-Article. It should be noted that the Moore-Journal and the Moore-Article are identical except for some minor changes in syntax.
27. Moore-Manuscript, 5.
28. "Government, church, school officials and residents in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories, who might be interviewed," Appendix B, Moore-Manuscript, 62-65.
29. Chroniques de Fort Providence (1921-1944) SGM, 852; Chroniques de Fort Simpson (1916-1944) ibid., 310; Chroniques d' Aklavik (1925-1945), ibid., 248.
30. Moore-Manuscript, Appendix C, 66-74; Appendix G, 79-83.
31. Ibid., 8.
32. Ibid., 30. Moore made an addition error of 1,000 in his school-age total. Both the Moore-Article (255) and the Moore-Journal (70) had the correct total, but in each case the Eskimo sum is incorrect. It should read 1,443 rather than 443. For an estimate of the school-age population in the Mackenzie in 1941, Vide Table VIII, 234.
33. Vide infra, n.35.
34. Moore-Manuscript, 20.
35. Hoey to Moore, in ibid., 28.
36. Ibid., 26-27.
37. Ibid., 29-30.
38. H. A. Innis, foreword to "Arctic Survey," in Moore-Journal, 48.

39. Moore-Manuscript, Foreword.
40. One sister received the certificate prior to Moore's visit, two others wrote the examination in mid-June of 1944. Sister L. Duclos (archiviste, SGM) to investigator, November 2, 1967. The Council of Public Instruction granted the Brevet Complémentaire to candidates who had finished the primary course and who passed the examinations after two years teacher training. The Grey Nuns, like most teaching orders in Quebec, were trained in their own provincially recognized scholasticate. J. Gallagher, "A Study of French Influences on Canadian Education with Special Reference to Quebec." (unpublished Master's thesis, McGill, 1941), 69-80.
41. For a review of the Branch's position, vide supra, 207.
42. This is a minimum estimate as it does not include pre-1921 experience. "Qualificatés des Institutrices," SGM.
43. For a discussion of these agreements, vide supra, 88, 257, 278.
44. Moore-Manuscript, 25, 37.
45. Ibid., passim.
46. Ibid., 26.
47. Ibid., 9-10.
48. "At Hay River the nurse remaining in charge after the Missionary left did what she could but complained that her efforts could not qualify for the status of a School." Ibid., 21. A Hay River school register indicates that some children were receiving schooling in the spring of 1944. I.A.B. Register, St. Peter's, Hay River School, Anglican Mission, Hay River, n.p., 1940-1945. The Anglican school at Fort Simpson closed in 1943. J. W. Goodall, "History of Education in Fort Simpson" News of the North, October 28, 1965. Schooling at McPherson was based on Dewdney's attempts to implement correspondence instruction. Vide supra, 289. Rev. H. G. Cook conducted classes in the "Indian Room" at the Anglican mission (Fort Simpson) from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. for the period 1935 to 1943 when the school closed. Cook to investigator, March 2, 1968.
49. Moore-Manuscript, 22-24.
50. Ibid., 25.
51. Ibid., 32-38.
52. Ibid., 40.

53. Ibid., 5.
54. All recommendation references from ibid., 45-59.
55. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 4 Geo VI, c.175, s.5-16 (1940).
56. Regulations of the Advisory Board Regarding Religious Exercises in Public Schools (Winnipeg: Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, 1943) inserted as Appendix L, Moore-Manuscript, 43 pp.
57. Moore-Journal, 79-82; Moore-Article, 264-269. Both these summaries made no reference to recommendation seven and eight of the original manuscript, nor do they give any reason for deleting them.
58. Minutes, February 13, 1945, XIII, 3186.
59. Gibson to Harvey, October 11, 1944, 630/141-1, I, 224, PAC.
60. Gibson to Dewdney, September 7, 1944, 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.
61. Minutes, February 13, 1945, XIII, 3186.
62. Gibson to Trocellier, July 5, 1944, NWT ADM, AVM.
63. Une Soeur Grise d'Aklavik à Mère Générale, September, 1944, Aklavik, SGM.
64. Statement by Srs. J. Dussault and L. Duport (Fort Smith), personal interview, October 2, 1965.
65. Chroniques de Fort Smith (1914-1946), I, 210.
66. Chroniques de Providence (1921-1944), III, 852.
67. Chroniques de Fort Simpson (1916-1944), I, 310.
68. Chroniques de Aklavik (1925-1945), I, 248.
69. Une Soeur Grise d'Aklavik à Mère Générale, September 1944, Aklavik, SGM.
70. Lesage, Sacred Heart Mission (1858-1958), 115.
71. Father J. Pochat-Cotilloux (rector, Grandin College) to investigator, October 16, 1967.
72. Trocellier to Gibson, July 5, 1944, NWT ADM, AVM.
73. Moore-Journal, 61-82.

74. Note and mimeographed copy together with Trocellier's notations in AVM. Cited hereinafter as Trocellier's notation.
75. Oblate Indian-Eskimo Commission, Ottawa, Personal interview with Father J. Mulvihill, November 1965.
76. Trocellier to Moore, July 15, 1945, 9 pp., AVM.
77. Moore-Article, 245-269.
78. All quotations in this section, except where otherwise noted, are from Trocellier to Moore, July 15, 1945, AVM.
79. Trocellier's notation, passim.
80. "In 1931, for example, we were asked to open a hospital at Coppermine. The matter was almost settled when the depression came along, and the Department of Mines and Resources [sic] did not feel authorized to assume the responsibilities involved." Trocellier to Moore, July 15, 1945, AVM.
81. Une Soeur Grise d'Aklavik à Mère Générale, September 1944, Aklavik, SGM.
82. During a visit to Ottawa in May 1945, Trocellier wrote Mother Provincial in Fort Smith seeking confirmation for his belief that there were three qualified teaching sisters in the Mackenzie. There is no record of a reply. Trocellier to Mother Provincial, May 4, 1945, Divine Providence, SGM, xxxi.
83. Breynat to Martin, November 14, 1945, Martin File, VII, AVM.
84. "Indian Life and Languages," March 3, 1935, ibid., 1-3. References in the unsigned article indicate that it was probably written by Breynat or by one of his colleagues.

THE END OF A FRONTIER 1945 - 1961

CHAPTER IX

THE CLOSING OF THE MISSIONARY FRONTIER 1945 - 1961

Before reviewing some of the more significant developments in church-state educational arrangements in the 1945 - 1961 period under the headings of Indian, territorial and separate schooling in this and the remaining chapters, note should be made of those social, economic, and political forces which transformed the old frontier of traders and missionaries to spheres of influence for increasing numbers of entrepreneurs and civil servants. In 1961 Inuvik, a multi-million dollar administrative centre built to replace the mission-trading station of Aklavik, was officially opened by John Diefenbaker.¹ With its large and relatively affluent white population employed by a host of government agencies, Inuvik represented an irrevocable commitment on the part of the federal government to develop and control the northern frontier. The extent of this commitment is evident in the expenditures of the federal government's principal northern agency which rose from approximately one-half million dollars in 1945 to forty-one million at the time of Mr. Diefenbaker's visit.² The church's role in educational affairs diminished in direct proportion to each appropriation increase. By 1961, its schooling responsibilities had either been assumed entirely by the government or had been regulated by detailed agreements which in effect compromised most remaining missionary interests. As a result Andrew Moore's recommendations concerning denominational schooling interests, which lacked official sanction in 1945, had largely become a reality.

1. Transformation of the Frontier

As background to an examination of schooling systems in the Mackenzie during the years 1945-1961, this section will review those phenomena instrumental in bringing about the dissolution of ecclesiastical privilege under the following headings: (1) a strategy of integration; and (2) an end to proselytism. These discussions will also give particular attention to those factors which were to effect the evolution of separate forms of Catholic schooling.

A Strategy of Integration

Although the end of the second world war lessened the district's strategic importance, the Canadian government, prompted by resource and sovereign concerns, moved to end what Prime Minister St. Laurent described before the House of Commons in 1953 as the country's traditional attitude to its North:

Apparently we have administered the vast territories of the north in an almost continuing state of absence of mind. I think all honourable members now feel that the territories are vastly important to Canada and that it is time that more attention was focused upon their possibilities in what they will mean to this Canadian nation. 3

With the reopening of the Yellowknife mines in 1946 the Department of Mines and Resources announced plans for improvements to roads and services in the Smith, Yellowknife and Hay River areas for "the transportation of mining equipment and supplies."⁴ As expenditures increased older settlements like Smith and Aklavik became administrative enclaves for service and departmental personnel who soon laid claim to many areas formerly supervised by trader and missionary. The authority of

the latter groups waned even more as pre-1945 government agencies gradually disassociated themselves from their traditional partners to establish their place in a burgeoning federal hierarchy.

Although a central aspect of post-war federal northern policy was to integrate indigenous groups into "national life and activities,"⁵ little progress was evident in this regard by the early 1960's. Within the Mackenzie the white group rose from 28 per cent of the population in 1941 to 54 per cent of the total twenty years later.⁶ Differential white movements to settlements like Aklavik⁷ or Fort Smith⁸ led to the establishment of exclusive white settlement zones apart from indigenous groups. A similar, if not more marked segregation occurred in Inuvik, where non-whites were allocated the non-serviced zones of the settlement.⁹ In Hay River and Yellowknife, the main centres of private enterprise, most political and economic activity was limited to the white business sector, with the natives remaining subject to the usual stereotypes placed upon them by the white majority.¹⁰ Native settlement was practically non-existent in the single resource centres of Discovery and Norman Wells.¹¹ With the arrival of nurses, game wardens, and welfare teachers in such remote forts as Good Hope or high arctic stations as Coppermine, the traditional economy of these places declined. Welfare services influenced many families to move from the hinterland - away from rich food and fur areas.¹² Despite the contention held by many missionaries¹³ and anthropologists that the bush community was a "very healthy social body,"¹⁴ the number of camps steadily declined,¹⁵ although settlement living did little to mitigate ethnic differences. An estimate (1963) of territorial per capita income recorded the following: Eskimo - \$400,

Indian - \$500, and white - \$2,900.¹⁶ Three years later a special northern advisory group reported:

[Indian and Eskimo] incomes are so low as to bring them within the poverty problem of Canada and at the lowest and most depressed strata of the problem. This is true today and has been true for a long time. 17

Despite improvements in health standards in the 1950's, malnutrition, pulmonary, and venereal diseases continued to ravage native groups; in 1966 the crude death rate among Eskimos was twice the national average and tuberculosis together with several other diseases increased over the previous year.¹⁸ The transition from small extended kin groups to what was often a marginal and dislocated existence in or near white-dominated settlements created considerable social disorganization and demoralization. Government sponsored monographs, such as Clairmont's studies of deviancy among Indians and Eskimos in Aklavik, began to appear in the early 1960's.¹⁹ Their pessimistic conclusions were generally reiterated by later investigators who found an all-pervasive social and economic dichotomy between white and native groups.²⁰

By 1962 there were 27 federal departments and agencies in the Mackenzie.²¹ Although the activities of the Indian Affairs Branch were somewhat compacted as a result of its transferring of educational responsibilities in 1955, this agency, together with the Department of National Health and Welfare, assumed major medical-welfare functions after the war. The authority which affected the lives of district residents more than any other was the Department of Mines and Resources and its lineal descendants, Resources and Development and Northern Affairs and National Resources. The intra-Department reorganization of

1947 which created, under the Lands and Development Branch, three divisions - Yukon, Mackenzie, and Arctic established an administrative framework which was maintained into the 1960's.²² A separate northern administration branch was established in 1959 with six divisions and policy planning units in such areas as welfare and education for the Mackenzie and eastern Arctic field districts.²³ By 1965, the department had about 1, 100 employees resident in the territories; however, like other federal agencies in the North, it employed relatively few natives. According to the Carrothers Report (1966), "Only one-sixth of the potential Indian Eskimo labour force is engaged in gainful employment, compared with over two-thirds of the potential white labour force."²⁴ The hoped-for goals of native "self-reliance and further participation in the life of northern Canada"²⁵ set forth by the department in 1954 were far from being accomplished some ten years later when one of its divisions posed this problem:

Should the Eskimo be relocated to areas of industry and integrated into new communities, particularly in southern Canada, or should he retain his traditional life in communities in the north? 26

Until 1947 there were no elected representatives to whom residents of the Mackenzie could turn either in the federal Parliament or in the territorial Council (for a period résumé of representatives and administrators vide Appendix E). In that year a large portion of the district was added to the Yukon constituency.²⁷ In 1951 provision was made for the election of three representatives from the Mackenzie to Council.²⁸ One of those elected, M. A. Hardie, won the newly created federal riding of Mackenzie District in 1953.²⁹ A year later a fourth territorial constituency was added,³⁰ but five

members of Council, in addition to the commissioner, continued to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council. All council appointees were civil servants until the naming of J. G. McNiven, manager of Negus Mines in Yellowknife, in 1946.³¹ In the following decade civil servant appointees were gradually replaced by persons outside the federal service. The commissioner from the time of Cory's appointment in 1920 until R. G. Robertson's resignation in 1963 was the deputy minister of the lineal department. As the appointed head of both the administration and the government, he controlled the introduction of money bills and was accountable to the government of Canada rather than to Council. Although the federal government transferred additional powers and revenues to the jurisdiction of the territorial government during the 1950's, these were in effect little more than administrative arrangements. According to Rea, "...the territorial government of the Northwest Territories has had little constitutional power, and even less de facto power to influence significantly the course of development in the area nominally under its jurisdiction."³² As a result, elected members whether federal, territorial, or for that matter municipal in such places as Yellowknife, Hay River, or Fort Smith, could do little more than provide a channel of communication between local residents and the federal administration. In terms of this study it is important to note that elected Catholic representation in these bodies, apart from the separate school boards, was minimal—Hardie being the notable exception. As for appointed members, L. C. Audette was the only visible advocate of Catholic educational interests on the territorial Council.³³ It should also be noted that no Indian

or Eskimo representatives were either appointed or elected until the mid-1960's. Under such circumstances, the Catholic hierarchy attempted to avoid educational controversy at the territorial level, hoping instead that such issues could be resolved at senior levels of government.

An End to Proselytism

With Bishop Piché's appointment in 1959, the church moved toward establishing itself in a white-oriented northern community. Plans for the convocation of Vatican II were announced in the same year, and while the final Council documents were not promulgated until 1964, it could be said that the social and ecumenical spirit of its decrees reflected the viewpoint of some missionaries in the late 1950's and early 1960's.³⁴ During Trocellier's episcopate (1943-1958) the church's goals of territorial expansion had virtually been achieved; thus it is not surprising that such objectives are not mentioned in Piché's first pastoral letter (January 1959). It only recalled as a means of renewal the devotion of Piché's predecessors.³⁵ Shortly thereafter Piché wrote of the "invasion of the North by Whites," urging all those who worked with northern people to have "a genuine understanding of the socio-psychological process of cultural change" before helping them "to participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of the Canadian community."³⁶ In terms of the native population, the church became concerned with conserving and strengthening those already converted, especially when it appeared that their previous catechumate had ill-prepared them for settlement life. The resultant abandonment of the native-wilderness equation by the

missionaries meant that social and spiritual adaptations had to be achieved in a context in which the predominantly non-Catholic white population had increasing influence.³⁷ By the time the church attempted ameliorative measures the undertaking was not only beyond its resources, it was too late. The missionary had already been replaced by such agents as welfare teachers who, according to Robert Winters (minister of Resources and Development) did more than teach:

One of the their important duties is to provide community leadership and so help to make the settlements in which they work happier, healthier and better-organized places. The Welfare Teacher has become the centre around which much of the life of the northern community revolves. 38

In terms of the general population the church's position remained relatively constant. Federal census figures for 1951 and 1961 indicate that slightly more than 50 per cent of the district's population was Roman Catholic;³⁹ however, vicariate statistics, which included returns from the lower Slave - Athabaska waterway, reported in 1957 that 'Pour la première fois dans le Vicariat la majorité de la population est de religion protestante.'⁴⁰ Certainly there is no evidence to indicate that the church was making gains; even the number of Indian and Eskimo faithful remained about the same (80 and 15 per cent)⁴¹ as in the 1940's. Active proselytism appeared to be over. Indeed Catholic missionaries, whose numbers decreased somewhat in the 1950's,⁴² were required to give increasing amounts of time to a network of institutions. Farley Mowat's contention "that the influence of the Anglican missions is deteriorating at a rate commensurate with the increasing influence of the competing Oblate Missions,"⁴³ may have been so, but Oblate influence no longer meant conversions, especially in the Mackenzie.

Anglican losses there were invariably to the advantage of Pentecostal sects who began moving into the district in the early 1950's.⁴⁴

Catholic institutions were still seen by Mowat and others as effective conversion instruments. In November 1954, for example, the executive council of the synod of the Church of England in Canada charged the Catholic church with implanting "its doctrine throughout the North" by means of federally subsidized schooling and medical programmes.⁴⁵ The Oblate Indian Record commented on these allegations in an article entitled "War for Souls Reported in Northland" by quoting Section 117 of the Indian Act and by suggesting that others might stop "searching for a mote in their neighbour's eye."⁴⁶ The principal Oblate respondent to the Anglican statement, Father G. Laviolette (general secretary of the Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission) seemed more concerned with the growing Anglican inability to maintain and staff their own institutions. If they were abandoned, the rationale for Catholic ones might easily be compromised and the Oblate policy of conservation undermined.⁴⁷

2. Indian Schooling

On April 1, 1955 an agreement came into effect between J. Pickersgill (minister of Citizenship and Immigration and superintendent general of Indian Affairs) and R. G. Robertson (commissioner of the Northwest Territories) in which the commissioner assumed responsibility for the education of all Indian children in the Northwest Territories in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Act.⁴⁸ Andrew Moore had recommended this transfer a decade earlier, believing that the

Branch should delegate its educational responsibilities to the commissioner who, according to Moore, would be responsible for all publicly-supported schooling in the territories.⁴⁹ In the years before consolidation, there was considerable interaction and agreement concerning schooling matters between the territorial government and the Indian Affairs Branch, especially in terms of denominational issues; at the same time, however, the Branch's jurisdiction created a special set of church-state schooling relations. In terms of Moore's recommendation that separate schools should not be included in any publicly-supported territorial system⁵⁰ and as background to the eventual acquisition of Indian schools by the territorial government, the special character of these relations will be reviewed as follows: (1) the secularization process, and (2) confessional policies.

The Secularization Process

When Council received Moore's Report in February 1945, no action was taken on his recommendations except the one concerning a director of education.⁵¹ In June 1946, Mr. J. W. McKinnon was appointed inspector of schools of the Northwest Territories and in early August he left Ottawa for the Mackenzie.⁵² In addition to visiting schools, he examined the situation in every settlement of any importance where schooling was unavailable, including Hay River, where note was made that about forty-five school age children (mostly Indian) were not receiving instruction. In a report submitted to Council in February of the following year, McKinnon stated that the residents of Hay River wanted " a non-denominational day school " and that such a project had

been discussed with Bishops Trocellier and Fleming, who approved it 'providing a period of the school day was made available for religious instruction.'⁵³ But the Hay River denominational question was not settled so easily; indeed, subsequent developments not only caused major disagreements between the vicariate and the government over schooling matters, but, equally important, they revealed how the territorial administration modified the confessional policies and practices of the Indian Branch, particularly those affecting Catholic schools established prior to Trocellier's episcopacy.

In December 1946 R. A. Gibson (deputy commissioner, Government of the Northwest Territories) wrote R. A. Hoey (director, Indian Affairs Branch) advising that since the majority of school-age children in such communities as Hay River and Fort Norman were Indian 'we are leaving it with you to take the initiative...'⁵⁴ Shortly thereafter the Branch began plans to open a school at Hay River no later than the fall of 1948.⁵⁵ In the meantime Hoey informed Trocellier of the arrangements, receiving a favourable response to his letter from the vicariate's bursar on February 21, 1947. Only excerpts of the above correspondence have been seen;⁵⁶ but it would appear from a reading of the minutes of the sub-committee on education (a special committee of Council formed on June 18, 1947)⁵⁷ that the substance of Hoey's proposal was similar to the following principles outlined by Commissioner H. L. Keenleyside, and Deputy Commissioner Gibson, at a sub-committee meeting on October 20, 1947: (1) that Indian Affairs schools, including the one at Hay River, would have two classrooms; (2) that they would be public day schools open to Indians and whites; (3) that the teacher would be of the religious denomination prevailing

in the settlement; (4) that teachers would be selected and approved by the administration on the basis of merit and competence; (5) that arrangements would be made whereby teachers would become civil servants; and (6) that pupils would be grouped by grades and not by religious denomination. Of the two Indian Affairs representatives in attendance, only Hoey intimated that there might be some difficulty with church authorities over the Keenleyside-Gibson formula. His colleague, B. F. Neary (superintendent of welfare and training) added that provision for religious instruction could be made following the closing of school.⁵⁸ Insofar as the territories was concerned, Indian Affairs school policies were being largely determined by the commissioner (the senior departmental member on the committee) who, having endorsed Moore's one educational authority recommendation, appeared to have no difficulty in having Hoey agree to placing Indian education under Council's control.⁵⁹

On October 27 Keenleyside had an interview with Trocellier and Father J. Plourde (Oblate Indian Commission) in Ottawa during the course of which the proposed school in Hay River was discussed.⁶⁰ On the day following the interview Trocellier drafted a letter to Keenleyside, but did not send it. It read in part as follows:

It is understood that in the present and future execution of this plan all the Catholic children, without any exception attending this school shall all be placed together for teaching purposes, in the classroom of the head Catholic teacher and all the non-Catholic children shall also be placed in the classroom and under the direction of the non-Catholic teacher. It shall moreover be agreed that Catholic children will be supplied with Catholic class books approved by myself or those that I may delegate for that purpose. In the classroom set aside for Catholic children, the emblem of our Catholic faith, i.e., the crucifix, shall be properly displayed and we may adorn its walls with such pictures as we deem essential for the faith of our

Catholic children.

The above tolerance on my part must not be understood as an abandonment or cession of our rights in the matter of Catholic schools, and it must be equally understood that it applies exclusively to the Hay River project. Moreover, my acquiescence can only last as long as it is not found unsatisfactory to authorities of the Catholic church. 61

Keenleyside, on the other hand, obviously did not leave the interview with such an understanding; in fact, at the next sub-committee meeting he reported that when the bishop and Father Plourde were presented

...with the proposed arrangement for a single school with one Catholic and one Protestant teacher and with periods during the school day set aside for religious instruction, these Reverend gentlemen had stated that this was contrary to the policy of their church, but that they would be willing to accept it as a temporary expedient on the understanding that the senior teacher would be of the Catholic faith. They based their argument that three quarters of the children would be Catholic. They did not insist upon the establishment of separate schools. 62

Later in the meeting, however, Dr. Keenleyside was handed a letter signed by Bishop Trocellier stating that he may have left the commissioner "under a misconception as regards the elementary requirements concerning the education of Catholic children." The bishop went on to affirm the separate classroom requirement contained in the withheld letter of October 28; yet this provision was now superseded by a request for a separate Catholic school:

...Catholic schools having been guaranteed by law for the Northwest Territories, I cannot accept any substitute for them for the children under my spiritual guidance and I hereby ask the Northwest Territories Council to provide such schools whenever they are needed. The combination which you suggested cannot be thought of and must not be implemented in any part of the Northwest Territories. 63

Beginning with the bursar's letter of approval of February 21, the entire Hay River project was then reviewed resulting in the

decision that the construction of the school should be proceeded with - there still being "the possibility of putting both schools under one roof if agreement as first suggested proved impossible."⁶⁴

On the day Trocellier's letter was mailed to Keenleyside, Father Plourde forwarded a copy of it to Mr. L. C. Audette,⁶⁵ who had been appointed to Council in March 1947, but who was not a member of the sub-committee. The following day he sent a copy to Louis St. Laurent (minister of External Affairs), with an explanation that read in part:

Son excellence expose clairement la doctrine catholique en matière d'éducation, et le document vous sera sans doute utile au cas où le sous-ministre des Affaires Indiennes tenterait d'engager votre gouvernement dans une politique qui, allant à l'encontre des droits acquis, reste inacceptable pour l'Eglise et propre à créer des remous dangereux et regrettables.

...Nous ne comprenons pas comment des fonctionnaires, si haut placés soient-ils, prennent sur eux d'orienter dans des voies nouvelles, la politique presque séculaire du gouvernement canadien surtout en un domaine qui, dans le passé, a soulevé dans l'Est et l'Ouest tant de conflits et tant de luttes. 66

Unlike St. Laurent who sent a brief acknowledgement,⁶⁷ Audette showed interest, indicating that he would be "très heureux si vous me teniez au courant de tous développements ultérieurs."⁶⁸

Audette was present at the next sub-committee meeting on November 6th. After mentioning that a reply to the bishop was being prepared, Keenleyside stated that because the matters raised by Trocellier might be considered by the Special Senate-Commons Committee on the Indian Act, it would be well for Mr. W. Nason, a departmental legal advisor, to familiarize himself with the points in question. In the meantime, it was decided to proceed with the Hay River project as originally

intended on the understanding that as the majority of the pupils would be Roman Catholic a teacher of that faith would be hired. Audette's presence appeared to have little bearing on the outcome of the meeting, although he may have influenced the decision to have the teacher (if only one classroom was opened)⁶⁹ of the same faith as the majority of the children. This was not in accord with one of Hoey's proposals of February 14 "that whilst this is a one room school, the teacher should be chosen on the basis of qualifications and experience, the school to be conducted along non-denominational lines."⁷⁰ This must have been largely academic to Keenleyside who foresaw a dual appointment.

Trocellier had already sought the comments of the apostolic delegate on the proposal outlined in his withheld letter of October 27. The delegate's response was unequivocal: "Il n'hésita pas à nous répondre que ce genre d'écoles ne donnerait jamais satisfaction, qu'il nous fallait demander des écoles séparées pour nos Catholiques."⁷¹ The bursar's reply together with Trocellier's comments at the Keenleyside interview had prejudiced his letter of October 30; however, neither he nor Plourde, whose correspondence to civil servants and cabinet ministers continued unabated,⁷² did much to justify their demands for a separate school at Hay River, other than to ask for the continuation of a policy which had been in effect "for close to a hundred years."⁷³

When Keenleyside replied to Trocellier's letter, he noted that the bishop's position was at variance with the point of view held by the vicariate's bursar and by the bishop himself during the October 27 interview. Expressing the department's appreciation for the church's

work with the Indian people, he stated that this gratitude had "frequently prompted us to meet the wishes of the denomination authorities even in the absence of any legal or statutory obligation." The commissioner, however, viewed the Hay River situation in the context of existing obligations, not in terms of past administrative practise. As there was no school at Hay River, "the responsibility for deciding on the type of school to be provided falls directly on the Northwest Territories Administration." Moreover the decision was predicated on the understanding that no "unnecessary expense to the taxpayers of Canada" was involved. The law regarding Indian schools was equally clear; there was nothing in the Act indicating that textbooks had to be approved by church authorities. The clause which referred to the denomination of the teacher would be honoured, and in addition, religious instruction would be permitted. Under such circumstances, it could not be said that the rights of the churches had been overlooked or disturbed. Regretting that complete agreement could not be reached, the commissioner concluded: "I can not conscientiously recommend to the Minister or to the Northwest Territories Council that the decision reached with respect to the Hay River school should now be reopened."⁷⁴ The next day J. A. Glen (minister of Mines and Resources) wrote Plourde stating he had seen Keenleyside's letter:

I cannot see that the arrangement which was agreed to and which is now being implemented, contemplates any changes in or disturbs the existing rights of persons of any religious denomination. 75

Trocellier, in his reply to Keenleyside on January 23, 1948, stated that, notwithstanding the bursar's "opinion" or the appearance of "acquiescence" during the October interview, the church's official

view was expressed in his letter of October 30: "I wish thus to reaffirm emphatically, that in the final solution of this whole question, my letter of last October 30 is the only one which carries the weight of my approval."⁷⁶

Trocellier's protests were unavailing. The Branch operated the school on a non-segregated basis with catechism taught by the missionaries at the end of the day, exactly as outlined in the Keenleyside formula. The first teacher, a Roman Catholic, was appointed during the 1948-1949 school year; recruitment for a second teacher, who was to be Protestant, began that spring.⁷⁷ By 1950, 130 children were registered, only twenty of whom were Indian, with slightly more than one-half the total enrollment being Catholic. Of the four staff members during the 1950-1951 school year, two were Catholic.⁷⁸ Noting the small Indian enrollment during his visit to the school during the fall of 1950, H. R. Low (special educational advisor to Council) recommended the following January that the school be placed under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territories administration.⁷⁹ At a meeting of Council in February a letter was read from the deputy minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Indian Affairs Branch)⁸⁰ proposing that the school be transferred to the Department of Resources and Development providing certain assurances were given:

- (1) that Indian children would be assured priority in enrollment, to obviate native pupils being crowded out of school due to a rise in non-Indian attendance;
- (2) that the present policy of religious instruction for Indian pupils would be continued

After a brief discussion Council agreed to the school takeover on the above conditions, which made no reference to the religious affiliation

of teachers, on July 1, 1951.⁸¹

Assurances to Father J. Dessy (pastor, Assumption [St. Ann's] Parish, Hay River) from J. A. Simmons (Yukon-Mackenzie River) that the teaching staff of the school under the territorial administration would "as far as possible, be selected to provide teachers of the Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths in proportion to the number of pupils...."⁸² did not lessen what the Indian Affairs Branch termed "an incessant demand for a separate school."⁸³ Father Dessy, secretary of the Hay River Catholic School Committee, wrote Commissioner H. A. Young at the end of April:

...We beg of you and of the Northwest Territories Administration to make the necessary provisions for the population of Catholic Faith to educating their children in a school 'as they think fit,' by Catholic teachers of the same faith,...with duties and powers as may be conferred to them by law for the operation of other Territorial schools ...⁸⁴

There is no record of Young's reply; in any event, the transfer went ahead with the situation remaining essentially the same as it was seen by Father S. Lesage (educational advisor to Bishop Trocellier) in June 1951:

En résumé, il importe de conclure que ces écoles [Publiques Indiennes] sont contrôlées régies et inspectées par des protestants. Bienque le surintendant d'Education [P. Phelan] soit un Catholique, il ne fait qu'exécuter les règlements d'une administration de protestants....Les parents n'ont aucun pouvoir et sont à la merci d'une minorité de partisans protestants qui exigent ou réclament la neutralité scolaire des écoles fréquentées par quelques individus de leur foi. De sorte que ni les parents, ni les instituteurs ne sont en droit d'éduquer les enfants selon les principes religieux traditionnels de leur Eglise dans une école de la foi de leur propre choix. 85

Following the territorial elections in the fall of 1951 in which

the Catholic candidates for Mackenzie South were defeated,⁸⁶ Lesage wrote Mr. E. Osborne, an active member of the Catholic school committee, stating that it would be premature to establish a Catholic school, and suggesting instead that the committee should continue to work for such an undertaking "as soon as it becomes feasible."⁸⁷ Although the project was discussed from time to time,⁸⁸ it was not until 1959 that notice was given that plans for the establishment of a Catholic separate school at Hay River were underway.⁸⁹

To many Catholic missionaries the Hay River episode demonstrated that the Branch was determined by a process of attrition to restrict, if not abrogate entirely, the denominational rights of Indians. Indian day schools in other places were viewed somewhat differently, as they catered, with the exception of the one at Fort McPherson, almost exclusively to a Catholic Indian clientele, although there were misgivings about these schools as well. Attendance was often poor;⁹⁰ lay teachers were invariably not briefed concerning their confessional role nor were they always co-operative in arranging such matters as religious instruction;⁹¹ and Indian agents, who acted as official government trustees,⁹² and other government administrators seemed to have a penchant for non-denominational schools, or at least for eliciting such a preference from the Indians.⁹³ The Branch's tolerance toward requisitions of religious books⁹⁴ and the teaching of French ended.⁹⁵ More stringent measures were taken to restrict the entrance of students to residential schools.⁹⁶ The worth of the latter institutions also came under scrutiny, especially as teaching institutions, with the sub-committee recommending as early as October

1947, that they might serve as dormitories to non-denominational day schools.⁹⁷ As evidenced in their reports,⁹⁸ Branch officials had high expectations for their institutions, certainly more than they had for the district's Catholic day and residential schools which according to an article in Saturday Night, they viewed as an "admitted failure."⁹⁹ When Plourde complained about this, he received an assurance from the department that none of their officials had made "the statement to which exception has been made."¹⁰⁰

Once the term non-denominational had been equated with Indian day schools, they assumed for many missionaries a neutral, secular, and even anti-religious character. There was provision for religious instruction, but this, according to a Catholic pamphleteer, could not be considered as Catholic education which, permeated as it was with religious values, could not exist in neutral schooling situations.¹⁰¹ Although the superintendent general of Indian Affairs did not have the power to require Catholic children to attend a Protestant school or vice versa, he could require them to attend a local public school. To Father Lesage public was synonymous with neutral,¹⁰² as it was to Bishop J. Cody (president of the Canadian Catholic Conference) who told a group of senior officers of the Indian Affairs Branch in October 1953:

...The hierarchy was deeply concerned with the fate of Indian children who are sent in [sic] neutral schools He recalled that public schools called non-denominational schools are often in fact, Protestant schools. He insisted on the Christian principle of religious education and he wished to receive the assurance that the faith of the Indian children will be safeguarded...at all levels. 103

Lesage's colleague, Father G. Laviolette (Oblate Indian-Eskimo Commission) saw the Branch's tendency to build day schools in places

where there were non-Indian children as a method of integrating such schools into provincial systems.¹⁰⁴ This was, of course, what happened in the Mackenzie. Just prior to the transfer of the district's Indian day schools to the territorial government, all but one of these schools in Catholic settlements enrolled non-Catholic white pupils.¹⁰⁵ When Jean Lesage, minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, announced on December 13, 1954, that his department would be assuming responsibility for the education of Indian children in the territories in April of the following year, nothing in his remarks before a meeting at the University of Ottawa chaired by Father Laviolette indicated that the prevailing system would be revised.¹⁰⁶ The agreement, however, that transferred the school facilities at Fort Rae, Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope, Fort Franklin, Fort McPherson, Rocher River, Arctic Red River, and Lac la Martre, included a clause which stated there would be "no segregation on account of race in any school in which Indian children are educated."¹⁰⁷ Thus there was a possibility that religious segregation by classroom, rather than racial or religious segregation by school, might become a viable alternative for those seeking Catholic education.

Confessional Policies

After the war the Indian Affairs Branch was in an ambivalent position vis à vis its schooling relations with the churches. On the one hand, it moved toward regularizing Indian education by establishing its own schools with a view toward their integration, wherever possible, with territorial or provincial systems; and on the other hand, it had

to placate the wishes of the churches, who remained its principal schooling agents in many areas, and to whom it had certain historical as well as residual or statutory obligations. A review has already been made of some of the Branch's policies in terms of church-state disengagement. In this section the implications of three other responses to missionary interests will be noted: (1) the McPherson establishment; (2) the Indian Act - (1951), and (3) changes in Indian schooling.

The McPherson Establishment. It will be recalled that with the collapse of the McPherson correspondence venture, both Bishop Fleming and the Reverend Dewdney renewed their efforts early in 1945 to have the Branch open a day school in the settlement.¹⁰⁸ According to Dewdney, no denominational issues were involved: "...all families with children at the Fort belong to the Church of England so there should be no difficulties on that score."¹⁰⁹ Indian Affairs officials showed a willingness to proceed with the project shortly thereafter.¹¹⁰ Subsequent negotiations led to Fleming's submission of plans and a bill of materials to the Branch for approval and payment with the necessary capital funds, \$15,000.00, being included in the 1946-1947 estimates. It was also agreed that the Branch would pay maintenance costs, provide all supplies and equipment, and accept the church's nomination of a properly qualified teacher who would be eligible for the maximum salary entitlement: "130.00 a teaching month plus bonus." The school was opened by the bishop's nominee on September 3, 1946.¹¹¹ The ease with which the McPherson project was realized contrasts markedly with Trocellier's difficulties at Hay River. Unlike Trocellier whose

response was confused, Fleming took the initiative as Breynat had done previously. Moreover, Fleming founded a school, largely on his own terms, in the only Indian settlement where there was an Anglican majority prior to the formation of Council's sub-committee on education, announced at its June 18, 1947, session.¹¹² As he negotiated with Indian Affairs before its northern schooling policies were influenced, if not determined, by members of the territorial administration, there were no restrictions on such matters as textbooks and religious instruction at McPherson. Of course the religious homogeneity of the settlement may have obviated such issues; yet when McPherson is contrasted with Franklin (with its exclusive Catholic clientele) where a school was also established after the formation of the sub-committee, the levels of satisfaction between the churches differ substantially.¹¹³ At the opening of the school's hostel at McPherson in 1959, the church-state relationship there was reviewed in these terms: "The first missionary school was built in 1946 and has progressed to its present day stature through the interest of church and government authorities."¹¹⁴ The schooling situation at Franklin, described by a Catholic missionary in 1955 as completely unsatisfactory, gave no indication of a like entente:

How easily could all these problems be solved by a single community of sisters;...All of us are Catholics: we all have the same faith and observe the same law....How often have I heard the people say they wished to have the sisters to look after their children's education. 115

As vicariate officials apparently had no knowledge of the school situation at McPherson, one can only speculate how they might have used such information.

The Indian Act - (1951). Prior to its revision in 1951, the denominational school clause of the Indian Act read as follows:

... No Protestant child shall be assigned to a Roman Catholic school or a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices, and no Roman Catholic child shall be assigned to a Protestant school or a school conducted under Protestant auspices. 116

It will be recalled that a resolution was passed by a conference of Catholic Indian school principals at St. Boniface in 1942 which asked the superintendent general of Indian Affairs "...reconnaître le droit naturel des parents d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école catholique ou protestant, selon leur choix..." What the principals sought was a reaffirmation on the part of the Minister of Sir Lomer Gouin's interpretation of the clause given when he was Minister of Justice in 1924:

C'est la volonté des parents qui fera choisir leur enfant dans une religion, protestant ou Catholique, selon qu'ils déclareront vouloir le faire instruire dans une école de l'une ou l'autre confession religieuse. 117

The Branch's representative at the conference first claimed that the federal government was not bound to recognize parental choice. However, upon encountering a negative reaction, he suggested that Gouin's interpretation be submitted to the department for review. The matter was left in abeyance until the establishment, in 1946, of the parliamentary committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs which sat during three sessions of the House, and whose report formed the basis of the new Act brought in in 1951.¹¹⁸

Aware of the significance of the committee's deliberations, Catholic authorities, who were concerned about the number of submissions which made unfavourable comments about the denominational system of

Indian education, circularized lay and religious groups pointing out that they, and their Indian co-religionists in particular, should forward representations containing sections on the rights of Catholic Indians to a "Catholic Education" which could only be achieved "in schools of their faith."¹¹⁹ Among the Catholic representations was a brief submitted by James Cardinal McGuigan on behalf of the Canadian Catholic hierarchy which read in part:

...We are sure that the Government will continue to support...[the Indian's] claim, and his right for his children to denominational schools.... We would not wish, therefore, any change in Section 10, Paragraph 2, of the Indian Act....¹²⁰

That the brief favoured the status quo is somewhat surprising, especially in view of the Oblates' desire, who managed forty of the forty-five Catholic Indian residential schools,¹²¹ to have the department recognize the right of parental choice which, as has already been indicated, was seen as an opportunity for proselytizing. In reality the matter of choice was an option for non-Catholics only as canon law uncompromisingly defined the duty of Catholic parents in terms of schooling choice:

Canon 1113 Parents are bound by a most grave obligation to provide to the best of their ability for the religious and moral, as well as the physical and civic education of their children, and also to look after their temporal welfare.

Canon 1374 Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic neutral or mixed schools, that is, such as are also open to non-Catholics....¹²²

Vicariate officials gave particular attention to the testimony of a number of Committee witnesses whose activities had a bearing on schooling in the Mackenzie. Father Lesage found that Moore, McKinnon,

and Hoey propounded a "network of neutral schools"; however, he expressed appreciation for some of Moore's and McKinnon's remarks about residential schools and religious instruction, reserving most of his criticism for Hoey's statements:

It was left to the autocratic Director of the Indian Affairs Branch to dictate: 'It is incumbent upon the Department to see that instruction other than religious is academic and neutral.' - and further he ruled boldly that 'where a Catholic is in charge, it is designated a Catholic school...it just means that the teacher is to be of the same religious faith of the majority.' 123

A revised bill, which incorporated many of the committee's recommendations, was introduced to the fourth session of the twenty-first Parliament. On February 27, 1951, E. D. Fulton (Kamloops - Conservative) regretted that the provisions of the amended bill (it had previously been before the House and withdrawn) were not available; in any event, he hoped that the legislation "would preserve and underwrite the principle that no Indian shall be compelled to attend any school other than that of his denominational choice...." The next speaker R. R. Knight (Saskatoon - C.C.F.) disagreed with Fulton arguing that the Indians wanted "to see education divorced from the churches." Later in the debate, G. F. Higgins and W. J. Brown, the two Conservative members from St. John's, echoed Fulton's sentiments on denominational rights, with Higgins reminding W. E. Harris (minister of Citizenship and Immigration) of the brief from the Canadian Catholic Conference¹²⁴ which included the following recommendation:

Lorsque l'enfant est d'une confession autre que celles de ses parents ou de ses tuteurs, il sera envoyé à une école de sa confession, si telle école existe. 125

The next day the minister convened a meeting of eighteen Indian representatives (nine Protestant and nine Roman Catholic)¹²⁶ from all regions of Canada except the Northwest Territories to discuss Bill 79. Of the 124 sections the delegates gave unanimous approval to 103, including the ten sections on schools, 113 to 122, as well as Paragraph 1 of Section 4: "This Act does not apply to the case of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos."¹²⁷ On April 2, the Bill was referred to a special committee which began hearings on April 12. The Eskimo exclusion clause was adopted without debate, and after some questioning Sections 113 to 122 were also approved. Following the committee's approval on division,¹²⁸ the Bill received third and final reading on May 17.¹²⁹

As the legislation specifically excluded Eskimos from its provisions, denominational issues relating to their education will be examined in the review of territorial schooling. Section 113 (for a résumé of ss. 113-21, vide Appendix F) gave authority to the minister to establish and operate schools as well as to enter into agreement for the education of Indian children with "(ii) the council of the Northwest Territories,...(iv) a public or separate school board, and (v) a religious or charitable organization." Section 114 empowered the minister to make regulations concerning all aspects of Indian schooling and to "enter into agreements with religious organizations for the... maintenance of children who are being educated in schools operated by those organizations..." Section 115 referred to school attendance which under normal circumstances was mandatory from the age of seven to sixteen. Exceptions to the section followed, including a paragraph

which released an Indian child from attending school if there "was insufficient accomodation in the school that the child is enrolled or directed to attend." Section 117, which corresponded to section 10 (2) of the previous statute, retained the denominational attendance clause, the latter, however, being elaborated by two addenda: a prefatory statement, "every Indian child who is required to attend school shall attend such school as the Minister may designate," and a concluding phrase, "...except by written direction of the parent." Section 120 and 121 stipulated the denomination of the teacher in terms of the majority religion, a majority vote of electors, or the majority religion of the band. Other paragraphs and sections had little bearing on church-state schooling relationships.

The church's reaction to the revised legislation was mixed. In October 1951, for example, a plenary meeting of the Oblate Indian Commission expressed its thanks to "Le Comité de la C.C.C. [Canadian Catholic Conference] chargé de mener la lutte pour la confessionnalité de nos ecoles indiennes s'est déclaré officieusement satisfait des articles scolaires de la nouvelle loi." While the committee believed that the tradition of confessional schools was sufficiently respected and guaranteed, it withheld final judgement until such time as there was evidence that the sections were being interpreted "dans les sens que nous désirons...." All the work undertaken to obtain satisfactory legislation would have been useless if precedents were established which were either equivocal or contrary to the law. The committee concluded by stating that explicit directives should be sent to all missionaries involved in Indian schooling: "...spécifiant que la loi doit être

interprétée littéralement et aux termes mêmes du Droit Canon."¹³⁰

Father Lesage, on the other hand, was less sanguine. In a Courrier de Famille supplement, dated June 1951, he listed the law's negative connotations: (1) the Governor General-In-Council could authorize the minister of Citizenship and Immigration to establish, direct, and maintain non-denominational or neutral schools for Indian children. The minister, in turn, could require Indian children to attend such schools; (2) parents had no power over the management of Indian schools, or their inspection, or choice of teachers; and (3) the law did not state that a Catholic majority would have a Catholic school. It declared only that the teacher had to be of the same faith as the majority of the pupils.¹³¹ Needless to say, subsequent events sustained Lesage's point of view.

At the plenary session of the Oblate Commission in October 1953, concern was expressed about Catholic Indian students who were being required to attend either non-denominational or Catholic "white" high schools. The former practice was completely unsatisfactory; the latter was acceptable only temporarily, the consensus being that Indians should receive secondary instruction in Catholic institutions designated for them. When attending federal representatives were reminded of the law which forbade sending Catholic pupils to classrooms "taught by Protestants," Laval Fortier (deputy minister, Citizenship and Immigration) promised that his department would review these complaints carefully.¹³² Little progress was evident at the commission's eighteenth session, in October 1955. In fact, the delegates noted that the department was using all possible means to integrate Catholic Indian children into

provincial systems. Moreover, while the department was giving a literal interpretation to section 117, permitting "...toute la latitude aux parents Indiens d'envoyer les enfants dans les écoles de leur choix, surtout si ce choix ce fait pour l'école publique de préférence à l'école indienne; externat ou pensionnat," it hampered Protestant children from attending Catholic residential schools by refusing to pay grants for them.¹³³ By this time Indian schooling in the Mackenzie was by agreement the responsibility of the Minister of Northern Affairs, and although the transfer document required adherence to the schooling section of the Act, the process of school integration, as will be shown later, not only compromised a literal interpretation of the denominational clauses, but also abrogated entirely a number of confessional practices which hitherto had been an integral part of Catholic schooling.

When Ellen Fairclough (minister of Citizenship and Immigration) announced the formation of a Joint Committee to consider amendments to the Act in 1959, the church no longer responded with its usual vigour.¹³⁴ Despite a militant hint in an Oblate circular which noted that only nine of the twenty-one committee members were Catholic,¹³⁵ church briefs, especially those influenced by Father André Renaud (Plourde's successor on the Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission) showed an uncharacteristic lack of interest in denominational issues,¹³⁶ even to the extent of leaving unchallenged an Anglican recommendation for the removal of the closing clause of Section 117.¹³⁷ By 1961 the Oblates viewed the matter of transferring Indian services to the provinces as a fait accompli, and while there were still aspirations that

a transfer would be conditional or "a guarantee of the traditional law giving Indians access to confessional schools,"¹³⁸ many Oblates would have agreed with their colleague Kroetch who concluded, in his study on "Government Legislation and Catholic Education in the Mackenzie District," - "that these pioneers [churches] in the field of Education were left out of education now."¹³⁹

Changes in Indian Schooling. Facilities for Indian pupils were greatly expanded following the war. Mention has already been made of the Hay River foundation, a precedent for integrated schooling, of the McPherson establishment, an example of laissez faire arrangements characteristic of the pre-1945 era, and of Indian day schools, prior to their takeover by the territorial government; together with evidence indicating that Catholic officials believed there was a general and ever increasing tendency to limit confessional opportunities in these institutions. The apprehension of the missionaries was further compounded by the territorial system which not only registered Indian children, but which also, and more important, had a profound influence on all types of schooling; particularly on Catholic day and residential schools, the traditional centres of Indian education. The territorial and Catholic systems will therefore be examined in terms of their role in Indian schooling from 1945 to 1951, the year of the revised Act and the establishment of a separate school district in Yellowknife. References to the character of Indian education during the next decade will be made in the discussions on territorial and separate schooling.

On the whole, school reports on Catholic day and residential schools in the period 1945-1951 were characterized by an absence of

criticism of any of the schools' confessional aspects. In fact, except for some suggestions for improvements in the instructional situation, they were favourable and even laudatory in tone. In McKinnon's first written report on the Catholic institutions, note was made that ethics, bible history, and religious instruction were given at various times during the day in most schools, and that such texts as Gilmour's Bible History and the Corona Series (Catholic readers)¹⁴⁰ were in general use, but he did not suggest a change in any of these practises, nor did he question the length of the school day, which was usually not more than four hours.¹⁴¹ In a report to Council on January 14, 1947, he criticized the lack of equipment and supplies in these schools, their use of unqualified teachers, and the excessively large enrollment in places like Aklavik, where one sister "has as many pupils as the four teachers at Yellowknife...."¹⁴² At the first sub-committee on education meeting in October 1947, it was agreed that there should be a gradual changeover to one set of textbooks and that consideration be given to purchasing the residential schools.¹⁴³ In the meantime McKinnon recommended the establishment of a non-denominational day school at Aklavik to relieve overcrowding in both the Catholic and Anglican institutions.¹⁴⁴ Following McKinnon's resignation in August 1950, S. J. Bailey (on loan from the Department of National Health and Welfare) inspected the Catholic institutions that fall; like his predecessor, his comments were favourable, although he regretted the presence of unqualified teachers and the fact that the administration's circular of 1948, requiring adherence to the Alberta course of studies,¹⁴⁵ was being generally ignored.¹⁴⁶ Low, whose

report was submitted to Council in the spring of 1951, admired the work of the teaching sisters, especially their resourcefulness in adapting the required curriculum, and the "religious atmosphere" of their classrooms:

An important and valuable means of furthering personal and social religious life is specific religious instruction. The present provision in the curriculum of the schools of the Northwest Territories whereby the last half hour of the school day may be directed to religious instruction, seems to me a practical and desirable arrangement. 147

As both Bailey and Low were on temporary assignment, a competition for the position left vacant by McKinnon was announced in May 1951.¹⁴⁸ At first glance it would appear that if the new incumbent continued to view mission schools as his predecessors had done, they would have remained secure. This was not so. The territorial system had already compromised Catholic schooling interests in four of the five mission centres (Aklavik, Forts Simpson, Smith, and Resolution) to such an extent that it was improbable that the new inspector, whatever his viewpoint, would have been able to reverse or ameliorate what the missionaries saw as a worsening situation.

When J. V. Jacobson (a Roman Catholic) was appointed inspector of schools in the fall of 1951, there were seven territorial day schools in operation.¹⁴⁹ Two of these, Coppermine and Tuktoyaktuk, enrolled Eskimos only; however, the Catholic response to the latter institution is important in that it presaged the church's viewpoint toward territorial schools in four settlements where there were already Catholic Indian schools. The church's attitude to Hay River, the seventh school, has been discussed. The arrangements for the Tuktoyaktuk foundation were modelled almost entirely on those at McPherson. Once Bishop

Fleming had led Indian Affairs into the McPherson venture, he asked the territorial administration for a similar arrangement for the Eskimos of Tuktoyaktuk.¹⁵⁰ As the administration temporized, Fleming went ahead and built the school and Council finally agreed, in May 1947, to pay its costs and operate it on the same basis as the Branch was doing at McPherson.¹⁵¹ The bishop's nominee, a former staff member of All Saints' Anglican School (Aklavik), became the first territorial welfare teacher later that year.¹⁵²

Apparently there was no need to give the school the appellation non-denominational until the fall of 1948 when Gibson, acting on a letter from the teacher, wrote Trocellier to report on "...a Roman Catholic Indian father [who] flatly refused to permit his daughter to attend the school." He went on to point out that the teacher and a police constable told the father that his daughter should attend the school while in the settlement, but the father remained adamant. "Probably if your missionary would make it clear to the natives that this is a non-denominational government day-school," concluded Gibson, "it would clear up any misunderstanding that now exists."¹⁵³

No doubt Trocellier had the Hay River episode in mind when he replied:

I am obliged to state that this case will not be the last of its kind. The Catholic church imposes a duty in conscience upon Catholic parents to select for their children schools of their own faith. As a Catholic Bishop, it is my sacred duty, as it is likewise the duty of my missionaries, to maintain that principle.

The Catholic population of the Northwest Territories is fully aware of its rights regarding the education of its children in Catholic schools, and we cannot tolerate the enforcement of any laws or regulations which would tend to deprive them of their rights in this regard. 154

The bishop's letter was read to the sub-committee on education on November 16, with Gibson and Keenleyside expressing the view that the administration was concerned for the "welfare of the child." The matter was then tabled,¹⁵⁵ but the exchange in no way altered the administration's plans to proceed with the building of additional territorial day schools based on the principles set forth by Council the previous November:

...the Northwest Territories Council will build and construct all school facilities provided henceforth in the Northwest Territories. Such facilities will consist of day schools, together with teachers' residences, and will be open to children of Indian, mixed blood or white parentage irrespective of religious denomination.

...Council should not undertake to build or operate residential schools, and any purchase of existing residential schools should be negotiated on the understanding that they will be used only as hostels for children in attendance at day schools. 156

The advent of territorial day schools in Forts Simpson and Smith illustrates how Catholic authorities countered the territorial administration's aspirations for integrated schools in these settlements. In April 1948 a petition, signed by forty-three residents, for a government non-denominational day school was forwarded to Ottawa. On McKinnon's advice a territorial day school was opened in the Anglican mission under the supervision of the minister's wife who enrolled a class until June 1949.¹⁵⁷ On learning that the mission premises would not be available that fall, Council purchased temporary school quarters including a residence for a teacher¹⁵⁸ who, according to McKinnon, would have to be Protestant in view of the Catholic school's continued operation.¹⁵⁹ There was some apprehension that a petition circulated by the Catholic pastor to the effect that a second school

was unnecessary had some bearing on the territorial school's failure to open in September;¹⁶⁰ a month later, however, school began only to be disrupted again when the building was destroyed by fire in February.¹⁶¹

A petition for a new public school, including the signatures of twenty-six Roman Catholics, was immediately forwarded to the commissioner.¹⁶²

One resident advised McKinnon that everyone in the settlement except the Roman Catholic missionaries wanted a "school system entirely divorced from the churches," while another observed that the Indians were anxious "to get away from religious affiliations in education and are strictly in favour of public schools."¹⁶³

These representations did not convince one government officer who reported on the Simpson situation: "We do not attract children to the public school who have been formerly attending a Catholic Day School." His viewpoint was sustained by another official in April: "I was unable to confirm that any of the pupils now attending the Mission School will transfer to the Department School."¹⁶⁴

As a result the administration decided to build a one-room rather than a two-room school.¹⁶⁵

When the Catholic teacher became ill in December 1950, her pupils transferred to the territorial school. When it was rumoured that the Catholic mission might not open "their school again as they have other needs for the building," the Home and School

Association asked for another teacher as well as an addition to the territorial school.¹⁶⁶

However, the mission school reopened in March; by the next term most of the Catholics and all but one of the Indians had returned to the Catholic School (St. Margaret's). The two schools, according to Lesage, became "stiff competitors...in a race for the

education of a handful of Catholic children."¹⁶⁷

As the administration was making what proved to be an unsuccessful attempt to purchase the new Catholic day school in Smith,¹⁶⁸ it received a report from H. A. Lamberton (assistant inspector of schools) in July 1947 that the Roman Catholic bursar, "...and all with whom I spoke expressed the view that the residents of Fort Smith should have available to them one composite government operated school."¹⁶⁹ McKinnon endorsed the idea wholeheartedly: "...discussions should be opened with the Roman Catholic Church authorities with a view to having [their] children...attend a modern new government operated day school, which will offer a combination of facilities at present lacking in both schools."¹⁷⁰ If representations were made to this effect, nothing came of them, and no further references, for the next few years at least, were made to the integration plan. The urgent need for a new public school, however, prompted the sub-committee to recommend the diversion of the Coppermine school appropriation to Smith for a four-room day school.¹⁷¹ Council agreed to this on March 17, 1948, when it also approved the appointment of a territorial welfare teacher who was assigned to the old public school until the new building was ready.¹⁷² When the latter opened in January 1949, the teacher reported: "Our enrollment has gone up to 35, with several others from the Mission School seeking entrance."¹⁷³ An arrangement was made to convey the children from Fort Fitzgerald, a settlement at the south end of the Slave portage, to Smith where many of them, although they were all Catholic, chose to register at the territorial

school.¹⁷⁴ Father L. Mokwa, supervisor of the mission, in a memorandum dated April 1951, described the Catholic schooling situation as one of progressive deterioration:

It is regrettable that the establishment of the local neutral school at Fort Smith, although acceptable and necessary for children not of the Catholic faith, has received the questionable approval of a number of parents unaware of the real character of the Public School....

That no Indian child attended the territorial school did not console him. As Métis and Indians made up the entire enrollment of the Catholic school, it had been "nicknamed Indian" rather than Catholic, with the result that all of the white and many Métis Catholics had refused to send their children there. His solution was a complex arrangement in which Catholic heads of families, elected and appointed, would have the powers of a school board in an unorganized territory. The board would be empowered to require the attendance of all Catholic children in a school of their denomination except for grave reasons and then only with the approval of the church and the board. Such an option would not exist if the Catholic school was established "by law and maintained by equitable public funds."¹⁷⁵ It is not known if the administration gave any consideration to Mokwa's proposal; in any event, it was not realized.

At the sub-committee's first meeting in October 1947, note was made that the residents of Aklavik had requested "the establishment of a non-denominational day school because some objected to sending their children to residential schools."¹⁷⁶ Despite its avowal that "the missionaries can run their places efficiently and a great deal more economically than we can,"¹⁷⁷ the administration considered

purchasing the institutions or assisting the missions to expand their facilities;¹⁷⁸ however, on the sub-committee's advice, the subject was shelved.¹⁷⁹ In the meantime, there were reports of overcrowding, especially at All Saints, (the Anglican school), together with recommendations that more vocational instruction be given. At the sub-committee's meeting in January 1949, it was suggested that a two-room day school be built at Aklavik on government property and that it be staffed with a welfare teacher and a manual arts specialist.¹⁸⁰ The proposal was approved, and the school opened in January 1950. Vicariate officials had little to say about the foundation. One sister noted that the area's day schools reduced Immaculate Conception's enrollment by a dozen in the fall of 1950, and one of Lesage's religious affiliation tables recorded two Catholics registered at the Aklavik day school during 1951.¹⁸¹ What was significant to the church was that the new school together with those at McPherson and Tuktoyaktuk reduced the number at the Anglican school enabling that church to claim, as it soon did, the Anglican interns at the Catholic residence. The resulting conflict will be discussed later.¹⁸² The administration's offer to accomodate the Catholic children in the vocational training section of the day school was politely rebuffed by Trocellier:

I cannot...accept an arrangement whereby Catholic children would attend any school from which the religious atmosphere...would be absent. I am not referring to the teaching of religion as such, but rather to the moral aspect of vocational training, which cannot be inculcated into the minds of the pupils unless they are simultaneously guided in...religious principles.... 183

If Trocellier was to maintain this position, it meant that Catholic

children would be excluded from a new and larger school proposed for Aklavik by the commissioner in December 1951.¹⁸⁴

Overcrowding at the Resolution school, described as "unhealthy" and a "fire hazard," together with a "bad delinquent situation among Indian and half-breed children," led McKinnon, in December 1948, to recommend a day school for the settlement. The welfare teacher would be Catholic and "would work closely with the staff" of St. Joseph's.¹⁸⁵ The school was completed a year later and by March 1950 enrolled nineteen white and Métis pupils.¹⁸⁶ A petition signed by fifteen Catholic residents, was forwarded to Commissioner Young on April 14, 1952, asking that the local "territorial day school be, By Law, conducted in accordance with the religious principles and practices of [the] Roman Catholic Faith" and that the "administrations of the Territorial and Mission Schools be authorized, By Law, to enter into a mutual agreement...for the education of the children registered at [the] respective schools."¹⁸⁷ Young replied that he understood that as all but one of the children were Roman Catholic, a Catholic teacher had been provided, and further that under Section 137 of the Ordinance religious instruction could be conducted in the last half hour of the school day. Nothing could be done beyond this. He was leaving the second matter to the superintendent of education to resolve after consultation with the mission authorities.¹⁸⁸ Young's position was essentially a reiteration of policy directives issued by Indian Affairs in December 1949 and by the sub-committee in January 1950 (for a summary of these vide Appendix G). The secretary of the Resolution Catholic School Committee reported to the Commissioner on May 24, that

in the absence of a school district, there was no protective legislation to enforce the department's current policy, which in itself left much to be desired. What the committee wanted was legal sanction (if necessary amendments to the Ordinance) for the following principles of Catholic education:

The teacher should be permitted to teach as a Catholic teacher. To do this every aspect of subject matter taught must be related to God. This cannot possibly be accomplished, if the Catholic teacher is restrained from mentioning religion or if religious instruction is relegated to the last period of the day...

Objects of religious significance should be permitted in the classroom...A crucifix and a picture of the Queen of Heaven [should be] acceptable to the Department for the direction of the Catholic mind.

Textbooks, which help a Catholic teacher to correlate the subject matter with the final ends of Education, should be made available. 189

The exchange did not end with Young's rejoinder that as there was a Protestant minority in the school, it was essential that it be conducted in a manner acceptable to both denominations.¹⁹⁰ Further representations were forthcoming, including one which affirmed that as the "Director of Indian Affairs" did not approve of "strictly neutral schools," the committee assumed that the law enacted by Parliament "for our fellow Indians may be enacted for other Canadians by the body responsible to that Parliament."¹⁹¹ The debate continued.

According to Low's statistics, slightly more than one-half of the Indian children of school age were in school as of April 1951, of whom only twelve of a total of 402 were beyond Grade 6.¹⁹² If the church was to succeed in obtaining an exclusive Catholic education for Indian as well as all other classes of Catholic children in the

context it desired, it would mean that the schooling policies and programmes of the territorial government would have to be altered radically. The extent to which this agency, which had assumed de facto responsibility for all schooling in the district, was prepared to meet the church's point of view will be examined in the next chapter.

1. Ottawa Journal, June 22, 1961; Sir Saville Garner, "Impressions of the North," North (September-October, 1961), 3. J.G. Diefenbaker, "Speech at Unveiling of Monument, Inuvik," August 1, 1961, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Tape 31/2, Territorial Archives, Yellowknife.
2. These are expenditures by the Northwest Territories Bureau and its lineal descendants only. R.F. Flanagan "A History of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in its Various Manifestations Since 1867...", Paper submitted to Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, June 13, 1963, Appendix IV. (typed copy in the Departmental Library).
3. Quoted in Phillips, Canada's North, 161-162.
4. ARDMR (1946), 84-86.
5. An expanded version of this integration principle is found in "Human Problems in the Canadian North," Annual Report of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1955, 9-20, cited hereinafter as ANANR. Vide also ARDMR (1945-1949), ARDRD (1950-1953), and ANANR (1954-1962), passim.
6. F. G. Boardman (Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics) to investigator, June 12, 1968.
7. "By the early 1950's...it became apparent that it [Aklavik] was not suitable as a governmental centre on a long term basis." P. F. Cooper, The Mackenzie-Delta Technology, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967), MDRP 2, 12. ANANR, 1955. "The survey for the relocation of the townsite of Aklavik was completed in 1954 and a new location selected." Ibid. The opposition of many Aklavikites to the move is evident in The Aklavik Journal, November 1955-December 1956, a monthly mimeographed paper published by the R.C. Mission. Optimistic reports concerning the transfer of the community appeared in departmental reports from 1955 to 1959. Further references to relocation ceased in 1960, ANANR, 1955-1962, passim.
8. Fort Smith, A Development Plan, prepared for the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, (Ottawa, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1957), n.p.; Slobodin, 15. For a good discussion of northern settlement typology vide J. Fried, "White-Dominant Settlements in the Canadian Northwest Territories," Arctic, XVI, 2, (June, 1963).
9. Cohen, 63; Wolforth, 41. An excellent account of the way in which Euro-Canadians monopolize power in a northern administrative centre is found in Honigmann's study of Frobisher Bay. J. J. and I. Honigmann, Eskimo Townsmen

(Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1967).

10. "With the exception of Government employees who are more familiar with attitudes engendered by social research and application, most local Whites [Yellowknife-Hay River] spoken to easily and clearly defined the Indian as 'lazy', 'unreliable', and morally degraded, especially in relation to illegitimacy in childbirth." Cohen, 61. For evidence of Indian social and economic exclusion in Yellowknife, vide R. Price, Yellowknife (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1967), and L. S. Bourne, Yellowknife, N.W.T., A Study of Its Urban and Regional Economy (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), NCRC-63-8.
11. Native exclusion is immediately apparent in school enrollment statistics "Classification of Pupils in Schools Mackenzie District" - 1951-1961, TAU. For a viewpoint on native involvement, vide Discovery Women's Institute, The Story of Discovery (Beamsville, Ontario: Rainie Publications, 1963?).
12. P. J. Usher, Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Coppermine-Holman Region, N.W.T. (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre), NCRC 65-2.
13. Father Brown, "The Trapping Profession in the Northwest Territories," North (March-April, 1966), XIII, 2, 42: Father A. Gathy, quoted in H. Hilliard's "Yellowknife's Heavy Impact on Territories Indians," Saturday Night. September 20, 1949.
14. J. Helm, "Changes in Indian Communities," People of Light and Dark, ed. M. von Steensel, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1966), 109.
15. For a discussion of the demographic realignment of Dene in the post-war period, vide J. Helm and N. O. Lurie, The Subsistence Economy of the Dogrib Indians of Lac La Martre in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1961), NCRC-61-3.
16. The Northwest Territories Today, 53-55.
17. A. W. R. Carrothers (chairman, J. Beetz, J. H. Parker, Report of the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories, Ottawa, June 3, 1965 to August 30, 1966, Prepared by Advisory Commission (Ottawa, The Commission, 1966, I, 71. Cited hereinafter as the Carrothers Report.

18. The Northwest Territories Today, 71-73.
19. A. M. Ervin, New Northern Townsmen in Inuvik (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Science Research Group, 1968), MDRP5; J. Mailhot Inuvik Community Structure - Summer 1965 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968), MDRP4.
20. A. J. Clairmont, Notes on the Drinking Behaviour of the Eskimos and Indians in the Aklavik Area (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1962), NCRC-62-4; Clairmont, Deviance Among Indians and Eskimos in Aklavik, N.W.T. (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), NCRC-63-9. For a review of Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre publications, vide Social Science Research Abstracts, 1959-1965 (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1966), NCRC 66-2.
21. Government Activities in the North 1962 (Ottawa, Department of N.A.N.R., 1963).
22. Flanagan, 58.
23. For an account of the development of the Northern Administration Branch vide C.W. Woodley, "Administration for Development (unpublished Master's thesis, Queen's University, 1965).
24. Carrothers Report, 31, 69.
25. ANANR, 1954, 20.
26. Excerpt from letter from Education Division to D. S. Stevenson, March 31, 1965, quoted in Stevenson, Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Employment (Ottawa, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Science Research Group, NSRG 68-1, 21. (investigator's italics).
27. Statutes of Canada, 11 Geo. VI, c.71 (1947).
28. Ibid. 15 Geo. VI, c.21 (1951).
29. Toronto Globe and Mail, October 19, 1961.
30. Statutes of Canada, 2-3 Eliz.II, c.8 (1954). It should be noted that only the Mackenzie District was represented on the territorial Council.
31. Flanagan, 57.
32. Rea, 43.

33. For a résumé of Catholic participation in elected assemblies and senior governmental positions, vide Appendix E.
34. For an edition of the major papers of Vatican II, particularly the papers on "Missions" and "Education", vide W. M. Abbott, The Documents of Vatican II (New York: Guild Press, 1966).
35. P. Piché "Pastoral Letter - I "Courrier de Famille", XXII, 165, (December 15, 1969).
36. P. Piché "The Educator and the Eskimo," Northern Affairs Bulletin, VI, 2 (May-June, 1959).
37. As of December 31, 1953, 41 per cent of the vicariate was white (vicariate figures distinguished white from Métis). Of this group the following observation was made: "1 Blanc sur 3 est catholique - 2 Blancs sur 3 ne sont pas catholiques." Courrier de Famille, XVII, 135, (January-February, 1954), 7. The same pattern held, ibid., XIX, 151, (August-September, 1956). A record on the canonical visit to Fort Smith in 1955 noted the following "C'est le petit groupe blanc protestant (21.8% de population totale) qui exerce la plus grande influence." Canonical visit to Fort Smith, Dec. 19-28, 1955, AVM.
38. "Education Goes North". Reprint issued under the authority of R. H. Winters (Minister of the Department of Resources and Development), published in Canadian Geographical Journal. (January 1951), 5. (Investigator's italics).
39. Census of Canada 1951, 41-93, ibid., 1961, 106.
40. Courrier de Famille XX, 155 (May-July, 1957), 6.
41. R. Haramburu (Oblate provincial, Vicariate of the Mackenzie), "L'Arctique Au Nouveau Visage," L'Apostolat (January 1959), 8; Census of the Indians of Canada, 1944, 1949, 1954, (Ottawa, Department of Mines and Resources and Department of Citizenship and Immigration), passim.
42. The number of Oblates in the vicariate, for example, dropped from 114 in 1953, to 104 in 1957, to 100 in 1960. Courrier de Famille XVII, 135, (January-February 1953), 6, ibid., XX, 155, (May-July 1957), 6; Personnel de Congregation des Missionnaires Oblates de M.I. (Roma: Curia Generaliza, 1960), 263.
43. Farley Mowat, "A Challenge to the Missionaries in the Arctic" Montreal Churchman (Montreal: Official Publication of the Diocese of Montreal, the Anglican Church of Canada, February

1959), n.p.

44. For an account of the Pentecostal church in an Anglican community, vide "Aklavik," Northern Settlements, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development), I, 60. By 1965, there were 13 Pentecostal missions in the Mackenzie. Atlas of the Northwest Territories (Ottawa, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1966), I, 135: II, 39. There were some exceptions to this trend, notably in Tuktoyaktuk: "Rivalry is intense between the different congregations with the R.C. congregation gaining slowly at the expense of the Anglicans....J. D. Ferguson, Human Ecology and Social Economic Change in the Community of Tuktoyaktuk (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961), NCRC-61-2, 69.
45. Le Droit, November 18, 1954 (translated). Similar criticisms were voiced by the executive council of the Anglican Church in 1951, vide "Ottawa Favors Catholics in Indian Work-Anglicans," Toronto Daily Star, September 11, 1951.
46. Indian Record, XVII, 10, (December 1954).
47. Le Droit, November 18, 1954 (trans.)
48. Copy of Memorandum of Agreement, April 1, 1955, Indian Affairs, NANR File, Central Registry, Fort Smith, N.W.T.
49. Moore-Article.
50. Vide Appendix D.
51. Vide supra, 340.
52. For an account of McKinnon's appointment, vide Minutes of the sub-committee on education, Council of the Northwest Territories October 16, 1947, 2. NANR, District Education Office, Fort Smith. Cited hereinafter as SOE.
53. J. W. McKinnon, "Survey of Education Facilities in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories (August 10-October 9, 1946)", submitted to the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa, February 18, 1947, 104, TAU. Cited hereinafter as McKinnon Report.
54. Gibson to Hoey, December 2, 1946, 640/114-1, I, 224, PAC.
55. Minutes, January 14, 1947, 3307-3309; McKinnon to Meikle (N.W.T. official) September 8, 1947, 140/25-1, (Fort Smith Agency - Education General), Indian Affairs Ottawa. Cited hereinafter as IAO.

56. SOE, October 30, 1947, 3.
57. Ibid., October 16, 1947, 1-6.
58. Ibid., October 20, 1947, 1.
59. Ibid., October 16, 1947, 3.
60. Ibid., October 30, 1947, 2.
61. Trocellier to Keenleyside, October 28, 1947, Ecoles AVM.
There is an unsigned notation in French on the letter stating that the letter was not sent.
62. SOE, October 30, 1947, 2.
63. Trocellier to Keenleyside, October 30, 1947, Ecoles, AVM.
64. SOE, October 30, 1947, 2.
65. Plourde to Audette, October 30, 1947, 60-1, COOI.
66. Plourde to St. Laurent, October 31, 1947, 60-1, ibid.
67. St. Laurent to Plourde, November 5, 1947, 60-1, ibid.
68. Plourde to Audette, November 1, 1947, 60-1, ibid.
69. SOE, November 6, 1947, 1-3.
70. Excerpts from R. H. Hoey's letter of February 14, 1947 to Trocellier are quoted in Supplement du Courrier de Famille, June 1951, 1.
71. Quoted in Trocellier to Cardinal J. C. McGuigan (archbishop of Toronto) November 19, 1947, 60-1, COOI.
72. Plourde to Hoey, November 20, 1947, same to J. A. Glen (minister of Mines and Resources), November 19, 1947, same to Paul Martin (minister of Health and Welfare), November 19, 1947, ibid.
73. Same to Hoey, November 20, 1947, ibid.
74. Keenleyside to Trocellier, December 4, 1947, Hay River School Project, AVM, 1-3.
75. Glen to Plourde, December 5, 1947, 60-1, COOI.
76. Trocellier to Keenleyside, January 23, 1948, Hay River School Project, AVM, 1-3.

77. SOE, March 21, 1949, 2.
78. Supplement du Courrier de Famille, June 10, 1951, Table I.
79. On May 25, 1950, H. R. Low (a school inspector from Manitoba) was appointed as advisor in education to the Northwest Territories Council to carry out a survey: "to study what is being done in northern education and to suggest steps by which the educational needs of the people can be more completely and efficiently met." He visited all the schools in the Mackenzie during the fall and late winter of the 1950-1951 school year, submitting an interim report in January 1951 (cited hereinafter as Low Interim) and a final report in April 1951 (cited hereinafter as Low Report). Upon completing his study, he took a position with the Department of National Defence. Low Report, passim.
80. Following the dissolution of the Department of Resources and Supply on January 18, 1950, Indian Affairs became a Branch of the newly-created Department of Citizenship and Immigration. ARDRD, 1950, 1.
81. Minutes, February 15, 1951, XX, 3891.
82. Simmons to Dessy, April 18, 1951, Hay River, Lesage Papers. Cited hereinafter as LP.
83. Minutes, April 27, 1950, XIX, 3802.
84. Dessy to Young, on behalf of R. Dufort (chairman, Catholic School Committee) April 30, 1951, Hay River, LP.
85. Memoire au R. P. A. Renaud (surintendant de la Commission Oblate des Oeuvres Indiennes), S. Lesage, June 15, 1951, ibid.
86. M. A. Brodie of Fort Smith was elected. "Et nos 'deux' candidats _____ and _____ n'ont ramasse environ 70 votes...." Dessy to Lesage, September 19, 1951, ibid. "...We may now resume the study of Catholic school problems with the conviction that no assistance is to be expected from Mr. _____ in solving them." Lesage to E. Osborne October 21, 1951, ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Vide Church Bells 1951-1955, passim; Codex Historicus Mission de l'Assumption (Hay River [ville] N.W.T.), copie d'après l'original redige a la Mission de Sacre Coeur, passim.
89. P. Piché, (Bishop of the Mackenzie) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, cited in _____ (director) to Piché, February 24, 1960, Hay River, Episcopal Files, Fort Smith. For a

discussion of the Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School, vide infra, 571.

90. During Low's survey (1950-1951) he noted that the attendance pattern of the district's Indian Day Schools left much to be desired; for example, not more than 15 per cent of the enrollment at Fort Franklin, Fort Good Hope, and Arctic Red River were present at the time of his visit. Low Report, passim.
91. The relationship between the lay Catholic teacher and the local missionary was never delineated by departmental officials, vide Father B. Brown (Fort Norman) to McKinnon, February 14, 1949, 630/114-1, II, PAC, and Father Mansoz to Father Lapierre (Rae), April 2, 1948, Ecoles AVM.
92. "...The Indian Superintendent is the official trustee of all the Indian day schools in his agency." Director (Indian Affairs Branch) to Gibson, January 23, 1950, 142-5-1, IAO.
93. For example, vide J. Harvey (Indian agent, Fort Norman) to Gibson, December 10, 1945, 630/114-1, 224 PAC; McKinnon report and petition from Fort Franklin, June 24, 1947, 630/108-1, I, NANR, passim; McKinnon to Meikle, September 7, 1947, 142/25-1, IAO, McKinnon to Gibson, December 8, 1949, 630/102-1, (Rocher River) I, PAC : MacLean's "Fort Rae", November 26, 1955.
94. Payment for texts, library books, and professional literature was restricted to authorized texts by the early 1950's. For steps in this direction, vide Précis B "Professional Literature," SOE, December 31, 1947, and Neary to Sister Dussault (Fort Resolution) February 14, 1950, 630/114-1, 225, PAC.
95. McKinnon to Neary, August 1, 1950, 630/110-3, (Fort Providence), 222 PAC. "...We are now assured by the teaching staff that all instruction is in English with the exception of one short period per day of French instruction which is given to the senior pupils of the school." Ibid.
96. Phelan (Indian Affairs Branch) wrote Trocellier on September 5, 1951 stating that a child sent to a residential school at Providence by a missionary was not eligible as his parents resided at Fort Norman where there was a day school. Ecoles, AVM. The bishop replied:
 "...I have never noticed, in reading the Indian Act, that Boarding Schools are to be provided only for orphans and abandoned children.
 It appears to me that Indian parents enjoy the privilege guaranteed them by their Treaty, of sending their children to the school of their choice, whether it be a

Boarding School or a Day School. Trocellier to Phelan, September 14, 1951, ibid.

97. SOE, October 20, 1947, 2.
98. For accounts of what the editor called the "unselfish devotion" of Indian welfare teachers at Hay River, Forts McPherson, Good Hope, and Rae, vide the Indian School Bulletin (Ottawa, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch) November 1950, V, 2, 2-5, and January 1951, 3, 3-5.
99. H. Hilliard, "Yellowknife's Heavy Impact on Territories Indians," Saturday Night, September 20, 1949.
100. C. Gibson (Mines and Resources) to Plourde, September 27, 1949, 139/25-1-916-1, IAO, in response to Plourde to Gibson, September 15, 1949, ibid.
101. Rev. J. Shappelle, Catholic Schools are Everybody's Business, (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Press, 1963?), 12.
102. Vide Lesage's comments on Section 117 of the Indian Act (R.S.C., c.149, 117 1952) in Les Ecoles des Territoires, July 14, 1951, LP, 2-8.
103. Bishop Cody's remarks are quoted in Missionary Bulletin, No. 8, June 1954, Oblate Indian Eskimo Welfare Commission, 6.
104. Laviolette in Document de Travail No. 1 Comité des Questions Scolaires, COOI, 18ieme Réunion Annuelle, October 7-11, 1955, 3 (trans.).
105. The only "Catholic" Indian Day School of the six in operation on March 31, 1955, was the one at Fort Franklin which enrolled Catholic pupils exclusively. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1955 (Mackenzie District, N.W.T.), TAU.
106. "Les écoles indiennes passent sous l'autorité de honorable J. Lesage," Le Droit, December 15, 1954.
107. Copy of Memorandum of Agreement, April 1, 1955, Indian Affairs NANR File, Central Registry, Fort Smith, N.W.T.
108. Vide Chapter VII.
109. A. S. Dewdney to Gibson, February 19, 1945, 630/118-1, I, 225, PAC.
110. Gibson to A. L. Cumming, (Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs) March 8, 1945, ibid.

111. J. W. Lock (Mines and Resources) to Cumming, February 14, 1946, 630/120-1, I, 227 PAC: Cumming to Gibson, February 20, 1946, 630/118-1, I, ibid., McKinnon to Gibson, August 31, 1946, ibid., Fleming to Gibson, November 19, 1946, ibid.
112. Minutes, June 18, 1947, XIV, 3350-3351.
113. On March 31, 1955, all pupils at McPherson were classified as Protestant and all pupils at Franklin were listed as Catholic. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1955, (Mackenzie District, N.W.T.), TAU.
114. Programme of the official Opening Fort McPherson Hostel [Fleming Hall], September 12, 1959, TAU.
115. Father _____ to J. Lesage, December 14, 1955, 630/118-1, I, NANR, Ottawa (trans.).
116. Revised Statutes of Canada, c.98, s. 10 [2] (1927).
117. Vide supra, n.84, 220-221.
118. Waller, 6-7.
119. Vide Plourde (circular) quoted in Courrier de Famille, no. 85, November-December, 1946, 2 (trans.).
120. A Brief Submitted by the Catholic Hierarchy of Canada, to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, distributed by Plourde, June 9, 1947, 2-3, AVM.
121. One Grey Nun institution is included in the Oblate total. ibid., 30.
122. Codex Iuris Canonici, L.III, P.I., C.IX, 1113 (MCMXXXVI), ibid., L.III, P. IV, T. XXII, 1374 (trans.). The latter canon permitted the ordinary (bishop), under certain grave circumstances, to permit such attendance.
123. S. Lesage, Sacred Heart Mission 1858-1958, 117-118.
124. House of Commons Debates 1951, 723-731.
125. Higgins did not refer to the resolution quoted, ibid., 729. It was read to the Special Committee in the House by W. Harris (minister of Citizenship and Immigration) on April 24. Comité Spécial Institué Pour Etudier Le Bill No. 79 Loi Concernant Les Indiens, Fascicule No. 6, April 24, 1951, 38. Cited hereinafter as Comité Spécial Le Bill No. 79. Browne's and Higgin's remarks were circulated by the Oblate Indian-Eskimo Commission, n.d., AVM.

126. Comité Spécial Le Bill No. 79, No. 1, 10.
127. House of Commons Debates 1951, 1364-1367.
128. Comité Spécial Le Bill No. 79, No. 1-8, passim.
129. House of Commons, Bill 79, as passed by the House of Commons 17th May, 1951.
130. Réunion Plénière de la Commission Oblate des Oeuvres Indiennes, October, 1951, AVM (trans.).
131. Lesage, Courrier Le Famille (Supplement Special), June 1951, 1-2 (trans.).
132. Quoted in Missionary Information Bulletin, No. 8, June 1954, 5-7.
133. Quoted in ibid., No. 12, November 1955. Document de travail no. I, n.p.
134. Renaud to Piché, May 19, 1959, AVM.
135. "Biographical Notes" (Parliamentary Committee to Study the Indian Act), Missionary Information Bulletin, No. 20, July 1959, 10-18.
136. Vide Renaud, Canadian Catholic Conference, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence - Joint Committee of the Senate and Commons on Indian Affairs, no. 8, June 1, 1960, 723-766, and Renaud, Greater Winnipeg Welfare Council, ibid., no. 6, March 23, 1961, 149-176.
137. The Anglican brief suggested that the clause 'except by written direction of the parent' could be used "as a lever in proselytizing." Vide Anglican Church of Canada, ibid., no. 9, 793-829. The recommendation may have been in response to an Indian Affairs ruling: "The Department will accept an initial application signed by the responsible parent or guardian indicating the religious denomination under which he wishes his child educated, and will oppose the admission to a residential school of that denomination provided, of course, that the child is in an admissible residential school category." Admission to I.A.B. Day and Residential Schools (Circular 185, March 9, 1960), quoted in Missionary Information Bulletin No. 22, June 1960, 37. Cited hereinafter as Circular 185.
138. Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission (circular), December 1, 1961, 2, AVM (trans.).

139. D. Kroetch, o.m.i., "Government Legislation and Catholic Education in the Mackenzie District" (unpublished Master's thesis, the University of Ottawa, 1964), 99.
140. Gilmour's text, which had received the approbation of Leo XIII, included a history of the church that dealt unsparingly with heretics: "...but the hand of God came upon him [Arius] and he died, his blood gushing out of his mouth and his bowels bursting forth...They [French Calvinists] brought on the civil wars called 'wars of religion' which during thirty years devastated the country, and were marked by rude vandalism and many bloody massacres." R. Gilmour (bishop of Cleveland), Bible History (New York, Benziger Brothers, 1936), 262, 296. The introduction to the fourth book of the Corona series reads in part: "A truly Catholic tone pervades the series. The religious selections in prose and verse are interwoven throughout the book to form a harmonious whole." Canadian Catholic Corona Reader, Fourth Book [Grades 7 and 8] approved by the Minister of Education for Use in the R.C. Separate Schools of Ontario (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1932), 5.
141. McKinnon Report, passim.
142. Minutes, January 14, 1947, 3307-3309.
143. SOE, October 16, 1947, 4-5.
144. McKinnon to Meikle, September 8, 1947, 2501, IAO.
145. "...Schools in the Northwest Territories follow the curriculum desired by the Alberta Department of Education." Education in the Northwest Territories, 1948, 1, District Education Office, Fort Smith, N.W.T.
146. S. J. Bailey, Inspection Reports on Immaculate Conception Residential School, Aklavik (October 16, 1950), Sacred Heart Residential School, Fort Providence (October 21, 1950), St. Margaret's Roman Catholic Day School, Fort Simpson (October 21, 1950), and St. Joseph's Residential School Fort Resolution (October 21, 1950), copies in AVM, passim. Cited hereinafter as Bailey Report.
147. Low Report, 46-47. The editor of the Indian School Bulletin echoed these sentiments by quoting the remarks of Miss M. E. Popham (Cheltenham, England) in her talk before the Ontario Educational Association in 1950: "The teaching of moral standards, however, is not enough. There is also the need for sound religious education. The present wave of materialism and the spirit of Communism can only be overcome if the rising generation becomes deeply conscious of Christianity. The teaching of Christianity in our schools

must be vital. In fact, there must be a real re-birth of Christianity." Ibid., No. 1, V (September 1950), 4.

148. Concours. 51-501, Le Service Public Du Canada, Un Surintendant de l'Instruction (Territoires du Nord-Ouest), May 31, 1951, in AVM.
149. G. Sinclair to Sister Christoff [sic] (principal, Fort Providence), November 16, 1951. Jacobson assumed his duties in Fort Smith in November 1951. Ibid. Classification of Pupils in Schools of the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories as of March 31, 1953, TAU.
150. "Bishop Fleming called on me yesterday in connection with a proposal to establish at Tuk-Tuk a day school for Eskimo children." Gibson to Cumming, October 6, 1945, 630/120-1, I, 227, PAC; Fleming to Gibson, February 6, 1946, ibid., and same to same, November 19, 1946, ibid.
151. Minutes, May 23, 1947, XIV, 3338-3339; Gibson to Foster (Secretary, Diocese of the Arctic) May 30, 1947, 630/120-1, 227, PAC.
152. The Department's annual report did not recognize the bishop's involvement. ARDMR, 1948, 153.
153. Gibson to Trocellier, October 9, 1948, AVM.
154. Trocellier to Gibson, November 8, 1948, AVM.
155. SOE, November 16, 1948, I.
156. Report Prepared for Presentation to the Northwest Territories Council on November 19, 1947, by the Sub-Committee on Education, (Based on discussion at meetings held in October and November), SOE, n.d., 3-4. Council agreed to both statements at its meeting on November 17, 1947, Minutes, XIV 3407-3409.
157. SOE, March 2, 1949, 2; ibid. Précis No. 3 (Request for New School, Fort Simpson), April 1, 1948.
158. Minutes, April 1, 1949, n.p.
159. McKinnon to Neary, July 14, 1949, 630/111-1, I, 223, PAC.
160. _____ to Keenleyside, September 19, 1949, ibid. There is no record of a Catholic petition being forwarded to the administration.
161. Vide ibid., October 14, 1949 to February 14, 1950, passim.

162. Petition of Fort Simpson Residents to Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, February 22, 1950, ibid. There were sixty-two signatures. McKinnon had noted their religious affiliation. Gibson to McKinnon, March 22, 1950, ibid.
163. _____ to McKinnon, March 5, 1950, ibid.; _____ to Gibson, July 23, 1950, ibid.
164. Report of Fort Simpson Day School, February 20, 1950, 630/111-1 IA, 224, PAC. Brown to Gibson, April 17, 1950, ibid.
165. Gibson to Simmons (Yukon-Mackenzie River) July 5, 1950, ibid.
166. Vide December 31, 1950 to February 3, 1951, ibid. The Home and School Association's executive was composed of three Roman Catholics and two Protestants, October 20, 1950, ibid.
167. Lesage, 121.
168. Trocellier asked the administration for assistance in the construction of a two classroom Catholic school as well as an increase in the operating grant in November 1945. Trocellier to Gibson, November 5, 1945, 630/100-3, 220, PAC. Council agreed to pay half the school's projected cost of \$6,000.00 and to increase the operating grant from \$500.00 to \$1,000.00 at its meeting on January 22, 1946. Extract in ibid. Plourde then requested that if the administration paid another \$7,000.00 (the cost was more than originally estimated) the school would be turned over to the government. Minutes, October 8, 1947, XV, 3365. Council agreed to this; however Trocellier did not pursue the matter and the building remained the property of the vicariate. Gibson to Plourde, October 17, 1947, 630/100-3, 220 PAC and J. F. Noyw (?) to McKinnon, November 12, 1946, ibid.
169. _____ to Meikle, July 30, 1947, ibid. Lamberton, who also acted as secretary to the sub-Committee on education was appointed at the same time as McKinnon. SOE, October 16, 1947, 2.
170. McKinnon to Meikle, August 1, 1947, ibid.
171. SOE, March 7, 1948, 2.
172. Minutes, March 17, 1948, XV, 3467, 3468.
173. M. Cowie (welfare teacher) to McKinnon, January 22, 1949, 630/100-1, 220 PAC.

174. Gibson to W. H. Swift (minister of Education, Province of Alberta), February 7, 1949, ibid. The religious distribution of pupils from Smith and Fitzgerald was listed in Mokwa's Memorandum, vide infra, 419, n. 175.
175. Mokwa, Memorandum Re: Catholic School Fort Smith, April 16, 1951, 1-3, LP.
176. SOE, October 16, 1947, 5.
177. Gibson to L. R. Sherman (Anglican archdeacon) February 21, 1950, 630/111-1, 224 PAC.
178. Neary to Hoey, January 29, 1948, 142/25-1-919, IAO; and Hoey to Keenleyside, January 30, 1948, ibid.
179. C. Clark to Neary, June 14, 1951, 142/6-1-919-F, IAO, Clark's letter refers to decisions taken by the Sub-Committee and the Director in 1950.
180. SOE, January 18, 1949, 1.
181. Sister Duport to Mother Courville, September 30, 1950; Aklavik, SGM. Lesage, Courrier de Famille (Supplement), June 1951 (?), Annex II.
182. Vide infra, 430.
183. Trocellier to H. A. Young (commissioner) September 8, 1952. AVM.
184. Council of the Northwest Territories, Debates, December 13, 1951, 149. Cited hereinafter as Council Debates.
185. SOE, October 16, 1947, 5; and ibid., December 28, 1948, 1.
186. School Construction and Operation During 1949, n.d., TAU, 1; Classification of Pupils Schools in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories (March 31, 1950), ibid.
187. J. Lirette (chairman Catholic School Committee) to Young, April 14, 1952, LP.
188. Young to Lirette, May 12, 1952, LP. For a discussion of the Territorial School Ordinance vide infra, 438 and 537.
189. J. Hyde (welfare teacher and secretary of the Catholic School Committee) to Young, May 24, 1952, LP.
190. Young to Hyde, May 30, 1952, LP.

191. Hyde to Young, June 25, 1952, LP. For further correspondence on Catholic schooling in Simpson, Smith, and Resolution, vide Lesage to Jacobson, September 15, 1952, ibid.
192. Low Report, Appendix II.

CHAPTER X

TRANSITION FROM A MISSION TO A TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION 1945 - 1961

By 1951 confessional schooling issues in the Mackenzie District had been drawn, with two separate yet highly co-ordinated state systems threatening the church's educational role in the few communities where it still maintained its traditional prerogatives. The principal agent and final arbiter of the transition from a mission to a government system of education was the territorial government. By claiming it represented the interests of all the district's ethnic and religious classes, this agency could mute the demands of a particular interest such as the church, by alluding to the general welfare of all, or by referring to fiscal or statutory limitations laid down by the federal government. Under such circumstances, the church realized that the articulation of a viable Catholic system depended almost entirely on those ordinances, statutes, and treaty obligations formulated in the previous century; and it hoped that these might be changed or at least interpreted in a manner which would enable church schools to co-exist on an equitable basis with their non-denominational counterparts.

Before proceeding with a review of territorial schooling policies, it should be noted that the territorial government, although responsible for the education of non-Indian children lacked the resources to establish an autonomous system. Consequently the term territorial should be viewed as a dependent element in the federal government's northern programme. In view of the relationship in which the federal factor was always dominant, the terms territorial and federal should not be

construed as separate jurisdictions but rather, largely, as synonyms in an integrated unit. With this in mind, a framework to describe territorial schooling policies in a church-state context will be used which divides the process into two periods. The first covers territorial schooling policies from 1945 to 1955. As this discussion is structured upon several of Andrew Moore's recommendations, the section is entitled the Moore formula. The second, an investigation of educational developments from 1955 to 1961 entitled the Lesage plan, refers to a new territorial educational programme announced by Jean Lesage, minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in March 1955.¹

1. The Moore Formula

At the first meeting of the territorial Council's sub-committee on education in October 1947, fifteen of Moore's twenty recommendations were reviewed (vide Appendix D). Committee members were informed orally about two others on November 14, with the remaining three being noted in a report prepared for a meeting of Council a few days later.² In the ensuing years little or no action was taken on five recommendations (ten and eleven and sixteen to eighteen) which referred to such items as itinerant schoolmasters and a middle-of-the-way curriculum. Some progress was reported from time to time on four relatively minor items, such as libraries and scholarships included in recommendations twelve to fifteen, which were approved at the first meeting of the committee. Moore's suggestion for an advisory educational council [four] was given a sympathetic hearing, especially by McKinnon who thought that such a body "would simplify...securing agreement on problems affecting religion"; however, senior members of the committee

argued against its constitution.³ The proposal was not raised again. While the Yellowknife occupational training centre recommendation had a bearing on secondary schooling throughout the district, it was immediately relevant to the Yellowknife Separate School, and will therefore be discussed later. Although not all of the remaining nine recommendations were specifically approved, subsequent events indicate that they, including recommendations seven and eight on separate schools and religious instruction, were not only generally favoured, but, more important, that they formed the basis of the territorial educational system for at least a decade. Mention should be made that Keenleyside, according to the sub-committee's minutes, wanted Council to be "informed orally concerning these recommendations [seven and eight]" without explaining their exclusion from Moore's published report.⁴

The Moore formula consequently refers to nine major recommendations : (1) that legislation be enacted [nine] making the Council of the Northwest Territories the sole authority [one] of a highly centralized educational system [two] under a resident director of education [three]; (2) that all teachers in the territorial system should be civil servants [five] and should possess first class professional certificates [six]; and (3) that separate schools not be included in any publicly supported system of education [seven] which would provide for religious teaching in the last half-hour of the school day [eight]. The above recommendations, entitled the authority, staff, and denominational components respectively, will be examined in terms of their fiscal, ethnic, and regulatory implications on Catholic schooling interests in the Mackenzie to the mid-1950's.

Fiscal Implications. Following practices initiated prior to the turn of the century, both the Indian Branch and the territorial administration continued paying grants to Catholic mission schools. In 1945, for example, the Branch allowed \$180.00 a year for each approved Indian intern at Forts Resolution and Providence to a maximum of eighty and sixty-five respectively, and \$200 a year at Aklavik, to a maximum of fifty. Except for an increase of ten places at Aklavik the schedule was the same in amount and authorized enrollment as in 1929. In addition to this, the Branch allowed maintenance and repair subsidies on a formula outlined in 1922 which made funds available whenever they could be "found for this purpose." The Branch also paid for some school supplies and an annual salary of \$585 each to the mission schools at Simpson and Smith.⁵ The territorial administration paid the same residential school allowances as the Branch for 'destitute' non-Treaty Indian children to a maximum of fifty at Aklavik and not more than a total of thirty-five for Providence and Resolution combined. The administration paid no maintenance or repair allowances; however, while the Branch did not pay day pupil grants to the residential schools, the territorial government granted them \$400 a year. It also paid \$200 to the Catholic school at Simpson and \$500 to its counterpart in Smith. Except for a \$300 increase to the mission school in Smith in 1934, the administration's schedule was the same as in 1929.⁶

In October 1947, following a review of the status of schools operated by religious organizations, the sub-committee agreed that all such institutions should be purchased by the territorial government.⁷ Steps in this direction had already been taken regarding the

Anglican schools at McPherson and Tuktoyaktuk, and negotiations (which included a supply of desks and a \$500.00 operating grant increase) were underway to purchase the Catholic school in Smith.⁸ The church abruptly terminated these discussions during the Hay River embroglio, and thereafter Trocellier showed no interest in selling either mission day school. He reacted similarly to overtures by the government concerning the purchase of the mission residential schools. What was needed, according to the bishop in a letter to the Branch in July 1950, was a "substantial grant" to replace boarding schools in places like Resolution. He did not, however, mention ownership, which would presumably remain in the hands of the church.⁹ If the church maintained possession, the chances of its schools remaining Catholic were certainly greater than having them transferred to state agencies, especially when the latter were known to favour a non-denominational system. That this point of view frustrated the administration's goal of a single educational authority evidently did not concern the bishop. As neither the Indian nor the territorial administration showed any inclination to provide capital grants on such terms, the church's efforts were diverted principally to improving other subsidies, notably per capita grants, salaries, and repair and maintenance allowances.

Pointing out that flour cost \$6.35 a hundred more in Aklavik than in Edmonton, Plourde wrote Hoey in May 1945 asking for an increase in residential school per capita grants.¹⁰ No funds were available until January 1947, when the Branch increased the allowances by \$85.¹¹ Shortly thereafter the territorial administration agreed to pay the same per capita grants "as may be approved from time to time by the Indian Affairs Branch."¹² Further adjustments followed. The rationale

as well as the extent of these increases was due in part to the administration's contention, expressed by Gibson on February 21, 1950, that "the missionaries can run their places efficiently and a great deal more economically than we can..."¹³ A week later Gibson's dictum was seconded by McKinnon, when he reported that the missions, having "awakened to their lack of proper educational facilities and equipment," were using their own financial sources to such an extent that their schools were better equipped than department ones.¹⁴ By October 1950, the allowance equalled \$399 per annum.¹⁵ Indicating that the latest revision was by no means "exaggerated," Haramburu (the Oblate provincial) responded appreciatively.¹⁶ Further representations resulted in the grant being raised to \$458.85 in March 1952.¹⁷ In addition to this, each school received \$400 a year for operating expenses from the territorial government, and a maintenance subsidy from the Branch. The latter amounted to \$3,100 in 1953 for each school, as well as a watchman's allowance of \$60 a month.¹⁸ These subsidies were replaced in April 1955 by an annual allowance of \$35 for each pupil in residence.¹⁹ Expressing the bishop's thanks for the increase, Laviolette urged a further revision in an analysis of residential school costs submitted to the administration in January 1955. According to his figures, the actual per pupil costs were as follows: Resolution, \$580.85, Providence, \$619.94, and Aklavik, \$764.68. If the average per pupil deficit was multiplied by the authorized pupilage, the church's contribution amounted to over \$48,000 a year. Laviolette did not request this amount; instead he asked for an increase in the total subsidy to a maximum of \$550.²⁰ His figures apparently were not excessive; a departmental working paper drafted prior to his submission proposed a

system in which the average per pupil cost would be \$550.17, \$620.72, and \$557.80, at Providence, Resolution, and Aklavik respectively.²¹

The point at issue was no longer a matter of cost, rather it was whether the church would be allowed to maintain a degree of autonomy in its residential school centres in exchange for full subsidies.

Providing the "Alberta Curriculum be followed and two qualified teachers employed,"²² the territorial government agreed, in January 1946, to raise its grant to the Smith mission school by \$500.²³ The subsidy was paid even though the second stipulation was not met.²⁴ Indian Affairs increased its salary payment from \$585 for one teacher in 1945 to \$2,972 for two in 1948. However the Branch discontinued the second salary in 1952 when the Indian enrollment dropped to about 15 per cent.²⁵ The territorial government, which had increased its operating allowance to \$3,000 in 1952, agreed to pay the second salary in the same year by increasing its grant to \$5,700.²⁶ Both agencies paid a total of \$12,750 in 1954, or \$119.43 per pupil, for salaries, supplies and maintenance. By this time there were three teachers, one receiving \$3,720 from the Branch, the salaries of the other two and all other costs being funded from a territorial allowance of \$8,850.²⁷ Apart from its salary payment, the Branch, having delegated its responsibility to the territorial government, was not involved in the administration of the school. This was in line with Hoey's statement before the parliamentary committee in 1948 that the Branch was attempting to integrate Indian pupils into "existing white school[s]... particularly ...in the Northwest Territories."²⁸ It was left to the territorial government to complete the process.

Thwarted in its attempts to have one integrated school in Smith in 1947, or to obtain ownership of the Catholic institution a year later, the territorial administration made no further overtures of this kind until 1952, when the commissioner wrote the vicariate's bursar advising that all territorial allowances were given on the understanding:

...that it is not our policy in general to pay any grants toward the cost of education in mission schools of locally resident children in communities where there is a Territorial Day School that has room to accomodate the children in question. This principle applies to high school students. At Fort Smith accomodation is available for high school students and in these circumstances no part of these grants should be considered as being paid on account of the education of high school students.²⁹

There is no record of a reply. In any event, the hoped-for transfer of the Catholic school's senior pupils (Grades X-XII) to the territorial school did not occur.³⁰

Noting "that it has been the policy to make small token grants (\$400) to separate schools even though a Federal School may be operating in the same locality," a field officer wrote the director on September 10, 1954, to point out that the Catholic school in Smith was receiving a grant of \$8,400. He saw no reason for this "large grant."

I have always been under the impression that financial assistance is not given to separate schools if a Federal Day School operates in the same locality; unless the separate school supporters have requested a school district be created, and that they themselves will support their school by means of taxation from assessments.

His concern was heightened by the church's announcement of plans to build a new school "of six classrooms...in 1955." This project would undoubtedly affect the federal school's enrollment where 60 per cent of the children were Catholic. "From an economic standpoint" be concluded, "it does seem unreasonable that another large school should be constructed

at Fort Smith and thereby perpetuate two systems of education."³¹ Another officer wrote the director several days later, and while he shared his colleague's concern, he thought the only way to resolve the issue would be to "make every effort to arrange some compromise with the Roman Catholic authorities at Fort Smith in order that one school and not two should be in operation at that centre."³² When these memoranda were reviewed in Ottawa, a senior member of the department explained that the Smith mission school received a larger grant than other mission schools because the federal school could not accomodate all local children. He then went on to affirm that the basis of any compromise would have to adhere to the practice initiated for the combined school at Hay River: "...In small schools the teacher is of the faith of the majority, and in larger schools the teachers are roughly in proportion to the numbers of children of the two faiths."³³

After receiving a request for an increased operating grant for the mission school at Smith, the same officer wrote as follows in mid-October:

I feel considerable perturbation about the ad hoc basis for grants in aid to this school....as the school has expanded we have increased our grants in accordance with requests made from time to time, simply because we have been satisfied that the costs of operating the school have increased. I think that it is time we changed our long-standing legal basis for such grants to a realistic one and that we should discontinue making adjustments on a basis of expediency.

He had already suggested "such a change," but it had been rejected "for fear that it might affect the negotiation underway for our taking over Indian schools in the Mackenzie District." Hence until the "agreement with Indian Affairs" had been signed and a revision of grants to "church residential and day schools" had been made, he recommended

that no reply be made to the church.³⁴

The enrollment at the mission school (St. Margaret's) in Simpson ranged from seventeen in 1948 to twenty-four in 1955. There were usually more non-Indian than Indian children, except in 1950 and 1951 when only two non-Indian pupils registered.³⁵ As there was "room" for the latter at the federal school, the commissioner informed the vicariate that the annual territorial grant of \$200, which had been paid since 1926, was being discontinued.³⁶ Overcrowding at the federal school that fall prevented this policy from being realized,³⁷ However the commissioner's attempt to withdraw subsidies on the basis of territorial school space was hardly reassuring to the church. Although the allowances to St. Margaret's were reasonable good (in 1953, for example, it received \$340.57 more than its counterpart in Smith³⁸), its continued existence was threatened by renewed efforts, especially by the federal school's Home and School Association for one educational facility on the island. A request "for a Government controlled and operated hostel and Government Day School...each being a separate unit and non-sectarian" forwarded by the Association to the director in November 1954³⁹ brought this response from Father Lesage in a letter to the president of the Association on January 1, 1955:

...the members of the...Association would do well to bear in mind that they represent the views of a minority group, namely Protestant, transient civil servants, while the majority concerned in educational problems is Catholic and native, permanent in the Territories....⁴⁰

On the same day a counter petition, signed by forty-one residents, was sent to the commissioner⁴¹ supporting earlier requests from Lesage for a new Catholic hostel as well as a school.⁴²

Ethnic Implications. Catholic schools enrolled mostly non-white

pupils (vide Table XI); in 1955, for example, only twenty white pupils, or less than 4 per cent of the district's white enrollment, registered at the five mission schools.⁴³ Reference has already been made to the reluctance of white parents to have their children attend the mission day schools.⁴⁴ The pastor at Simpson applied "sanctions [withholding of sacraments]" in 1952 against four parents who had placed their children "in a school other than their religious faith." Only one family returned its children to St. Margaret's; the others "persisted in their decision."⁴⁵ A similar situation at Smith was further compounded by large classes which were sometimes taught by unqualified teachers.⁴⁶ As a result, the number of Catholic children at the territorial school steadily increased, reaching 58 per cent of that school's enrollment in 1955.⁴⁷ Nothing can be found concerning the racial content of mission schooling in references to Catholic education groups in Simpson or Smith, or in the circulars of the Mackenzie Catholic Education Group.⁴⁸ Vicariate officials, however, were finding that a warning given them in 1949 by a colleague from Alberta, that it was difficult to keep Catholic white pupils in Métis-Indian school situations when alternate, albeit non-Catholic, facilities were available, was proving true.⁴⁹

Even fewer white children registered at the mission residential schools. This was due principally to the factors mentioned above: overcrowded classrooms, unqualified and inexperienced teachers,⁵⁰ the institutions' ethnic character, and the availability (except at Providence) of territorial day schools. There were no authorized boarding places for white or Métis children unless an RCMP officer and the district agent signed the following declaration on the child's admission

TABLE XI
Ethnic Composition of Catholic Mission
Schools 1951-1955*

Aklavik Roman Catholic Residential School

	<u>White</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Eskimo</u>	<u>Half-Breed</u> <u>Indian</u>	<u>Half-Breed</u> <u>Eskimo</u>	<u>Total</u>
1951	-	28	39	8	10	85
1952	-	35	54	4	5	98
1953	-	30	76	10	2	118
1954	6	60	81	9	-	156
1955	4	53	95	9	3	164

Fort Resolution Roman Catholic Residential School

1951	2	74	-	27	-	103
1952	1	73	-	35	-	109
1953	1	69	-	41	-	111
1954	1	83	-	60	-	144
1955	2	116	9	73	-	200

Fort Providence Roman Catholic Residential School

1951	1	83	-	18	-	102
1952	-	75	-	23	-	98
1953	-	93	-	19	-	112
1954	-	104	-	19	-	123
1955	2	107	-	22	-	131

Fort Simpson Roman Catholic Mission Day School

1951	-	10	-	2	-	12
1952	-	10	-	2	-	12
1953	2	6	-	13	-	21
1954	1	4	-	12	-	17
1955	1	5	-	13	-	19

Fort Smith Roman Catholic Mission Day School

1951	-	11	-	55	-	66
1952	-	12	-	64	-	76
1953	-	15	-	74	-	89
1954	5	30	-	83	-	118
1955	11	32	7	95	1	146

* Classification of Pupils in Schools of the Mackenzie District of the N.W.T., 1951-1955, TAU. Figures include day school enrollments for Aklavik (1954-1955), Resolution (1951, 1953-1955) and Providence (1951, 1953-1955), and hospital school enrollments at Resolution (1955), and Smith (1955).

application:

I hereby recommend the admission of the above mentioned child and certify that said child is a bona fide resident of the Northwest Territories, that he or she is an orphan, destitute or neglected child and not eligible for admission under the Indian Act.⁵¹

The inspector of schools also had to sign the form which was then forwarded to Ottawa for final approval.⁵² Other non-Indian parents could assign their children to boarding school if they were prepared to pay the cost. Not one white child resided at any of the Catholic residences in 1955 - the eight in attendance were all day pupils.⁵³ This in itself was a point of contention. The commissioner, in a letter to one of his officers in July 1952, thought it "impossible to justify paying grants for tuition of locally resident children as day pupils in Mission residential schools."⁵⁴ The commissioner's suggestion had already been discountenanced by Trocellier. Opposed to any change which would restrict the residential schools' clientele, the bishop is quoted as taking "the stand that all Roman Catholic children not only had the right but should attend...mission schools."⁵⁵ Nothing in the administration's subsequent reluctance to withhold the grant indicated that it recognized any such "right," nor did most of the Catholic parents concerned heed the bishop's imperative, despite further pastoral warnings.⁵⁶ In the meantime, the administration was proceeding with plans to build a non-denominational high school residence for white and selected "native students" in Yellowknife.⁵⁷

Indian parents could have their children assigned to a residential school provided they were between seven and sixteen, were of "good moral character," and were eligible for admittance as a grant earning pupil.⁵⁸ The latter clause depended on the number of places (195 in the

Catholic schools), the period of residency in communities where there were day schools,⁵⁹ and other factors such as neglect or destitution. While the Indian child did not have to be destitute to gain admittance, it would appear that this condition helped, especially if he was to receive sustained instruction, as his non-indigent fellows tended to stay for much shorter periods.⁶⁰ Indian pupils were in the majority at Resolution and Providence, giving these schools a decided Indian character. There were fewer Indians than Eskimos at Aklavik, although the Indian-Métis group composed nearly one-half of that school's enrollment.⁶¹ As the boarding schools in the southern Mackenzie were Catholic, it is not surprising to find them accepting non-Catholic Indian applicants. The sending of several Anglican Indian children from Wrigley to Providence in the fall of 1953 prompted an official in Ottawa to instruct the Indian agent to remove them "immediately."⁶² When the agent pointed out that the children's applications had been signed by the parents, according to section 117 of the Indian Act,⁶³ he was advised of the department's interpretation:

The Minister is the final authority in designating the school to which a child shall attend. He may not, however, designate a Protestant school for a Roman Catholic child or a Roman Catholic school for a Protestant child, unless he has the permission of the parents to do so. With such permission a Minister may designate a Protestant school for a Roman Catholic child [vice versa] but he is not compelled to do so irrespective of whether or not the parents express any wish in the matter. I hope the explanation will be of assistance to you.

As a matter of policy, the Department does not approve of the admission of Protestant children to schools operating under Roman Catholic auspices or vice versa.⁶⁴

An application for a Roman Catholic child whose parents were Protestant was turned down a year later. Another child who had been abandoned by his Anglican father but who had the continued support of his Catholic

mother was approved as was an application for a child whose Catholic mother and Anglican father had been married in a Catholic church.⁶⁵

Despite the optimism expressed by the church following the revision of the Act, the department was ignoring Gouin's interpretation which had been embodied in the section's final clause,⁶⁶ in favour of a policy of ministerial prerogative which all but nullified the parental consent option. Evidently the matter did not concern the church which continued to admit a few Anglican Indians on a non-grant basis. Needless to say, this practice, whether subsidized or not, continued to be numbered by the Anglicans as one of the "unethical approaches (of the Church of Rome) to win the Anglican people."⁶⁷

Most Anglican censure, however, was directed to the Catholic presence among the Eskimo. The Catholic school at Aklavik continued a practice (begun in the early 1930's) of taking in Anglican Eskimos who numbered more than twenty in the fall of 1952.⁶⁸ Following the administration's failure to establish a common day school at Aklavik (1952), an Anglican official wrote Commissioner Young expressing regret that the common school "had gone by the board" because of Catholic opposition.⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter he wrote Young again pointing out that there was insufficient room at All Saints (Anglican residential school) to accomodate the Loucheux from McPherson as well as the many Eskimos seeking entrance: "The Roman Catholic church has taken great advantage [of the lack of places] ...and has refused Indian pupils of their own denomination for Anglican Eskimos." Any future expansion of the Anglican facilities would be for Eskimos only, the McPherson Loucheux being a "problem" which was clearly one for the "Indian Department" to resolve.

I am further writing to ask that it be clearly understood

that the authorities of the Roman Catholic faith include in their schools children of parents who belong to their denomination and no others. This parallels section 117 of the New Indian Act. 70

The commissioner's reply, which included a reference to the final clause of the section, was sympathetic, but unpromising:

I am afraid there is nothing we can do to alter the situation. In the event that a child of a Protestant is found to be attending a Roman Catholic school without the approval of his parent or guardian, no doubt an inquiry would be in order.

...I am sure you will agree that it is necessary to avoid action, which might tend to interfere with the free choice of the individual in matters of religion and the kind of school his child attends. 71

According to a departmental memorandum in February 1955, the administration affirmed that it hoped to arrive at a schooling situation in which Anglican children would not have to attend a Catholic institution or vice versa. It was the department's understanding that Bishop Trocellier had undertaken "not to accept any further Anglican children in the Catholic school at Aklavik [Immaculate Conception] if schooling can be provided for them in the Anglican facilities."⁷² Apparently such was not the case that fall, when twenty-five Anglican Eskimos, including three new entrants, registered at Immaculate Conception.⁷³ An arrangement between the two churches in which a member of All Saints' staff went "to the Catholic mission each Sunday at 0:9:30" to bring the Anglican children to a service in their communion⁷⁴ did not resolve the issue which, despite further affirmations on the part of the administration,⁷⁵ was unlikely to be settled until the government assumed responsibility for providing boarding places. In the meantime available places rather than parental choice became the determining factor in the assignment of Eskimo children to denominational hostels. Although specifically excluded from the Indian Act, the district's

Eskimos were subject, by 1951, to the same interpretation of section 117 as the Indians had been since 1953.

In 1950 shortly after opening a two-room school at Coppermine,⁷⁶ the administration signed an agreement with the Roman Catholic Espiscopal Corporation of Hudson's Bay in which the church contracted, on the territorial government's behalf, to erect and equip a two-room school at Chesterfield Inlet.⁷⁷ Prior to the formation of the departmentally-sponsored committee on Eskimo affairs in May 1952, the Anglican and Catholic churches, represented on the committee by Bishops Marsh and Trocellier, had secured the administration's support for denominational pupil residences in the two Eskimo centres.⁷⁸ A temporary hostel, owned by the Catholic church, was in operation at Chesterfield by 1955, and plans were underway for a permanent residence to accomodate 75 Catholic pupils. In the same year the government opened a tent hostel at Coppermine which was to be operated by the Anglican church for "Anglican and other non-Roman Catholic" children.⁷⁹ Soon after Chesterfield opened, the administration received complaints that Anglican children were being taken into that residence.⁸⁰ Anglican authorities also expressed concern about the placing of Eskimos in hospitals like Parc Savard (Quebec City) where they were often taught and ministered to by Catholic teachers and religious.⁸¹ Noting "the age-old complaint that Roman Catholics are trying to convert Anglican Eskimos and...that Anglicans are trying to convert Roman Catholics," one official, in a letter to the deputy minister, doubted that much could be done "except to keep a watchful eye on the situation."⁸² Following vain attempts to obtain a residence for the Catholic Eskimos of the central Arctic⁸³ or to send children of either denomination from the area to the Catholic schools at Providence

and Resolution,⁸⁴ Oblate officials viewed the Anglican hostel at Coppermine as a "sacrifice" for, or a "counter-balance" to, the Catholic success at Chesterfield.⁸⁵ They were not alone in their thinking. Numerous difficulties during the Coppermine hostel's first year of operation (1955-1956) almost led to its closure. One of the reasons which kept it open was cited by a senior official in a memorandum to the commissioner "...I think it should probably be continued for at least another year... it will be the only Anglican counterweight in Eskimo territory to Chesterfield Inlet."⁸⁶

According to a government report on the Coppermine school facility, dated November 21, 1955, its worth was somewhat diminished by "the case of the single Roman Catholic child who from all accounts was ostracized by the others." The report went on to suggest two ways to ameliorate what it described as this "sad and pathetic example of our way of life." As there were few Roman Catholics in the Coppermine area, "it would be far better to remove these children [to a Catholic residence]...or else have a non-denominational hostel [at Coppermine] which is probably impossible."⁸⁷ Such pessimism proved well founded. When a senior official reviewed the report in early December, he ruled out the non-denominational hostel proposal. Instead, the initial suggestion - removal to a Catholic residence, or local boarding arrangements in Catholic homes were seen as possibilities. Equal consideration was also given to another option-- to do nothing.⁸⁸

Regulatory Implications From 1905 to 1945 the old territorial school ordinances remained unamended and unused except for the establishment of the Yellowknife Public School in 1939.⁸⁹ The first step toward realizing Moore's recommendation for a highly centralized system occurred

in 1946 when the Governor-in-Council designated "education as a subject within the legislative authority of the Commissioner in Council of the Northwest Territories."⁹⁰ The order in council clarified any ambiguity in section 12 of chapter 142 of the Revised Statutes of Canada (1927) which reads in part:

The Commissioner in Council if authorized to make Ordinances respecting education, shall pass all necessary Ordinances in respect thereto....⁹¹

In August 1946, two minor amendments were assented to which made sections of the School Ordinance and the School Assessment Ordinance more workable insofar as they applied to the Yellowknife Local Administrative District.⁹² In a review of territorial school law several years later, a departmental legal officer stated that no attempt was made in the 1946 amendments or in two others in 1948⁹³ to bring the ordinances up-to-date "because many matters of policy still had to be settled."⁹⁴ In the next few years Council, adhering to Moore's centralizing penchant, resolved most issues by administrative fiat, encountering only one major obstacle (the formation in 1951 of the Yellowknife Roman Catholic School District)⁹⁵ in implementing the Moore formula. Confessional interests viewed the establishment of the separate school as a promising development, but their aspirations soon diminished when new school legislation was introduced.

Outside of brief stipulations concerning teaching in a second language and religious instruction,⁹⁶ the School Ordinance of 1952 set up a highly centralized administration which placed large powers in the hands of the commissioner:

3. The Commissioner may make such regulations as he considers necessary for the purpose of more effectually carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance and without

limiting the generality of the foregoing may make regulations for,

- (a) the organization, operation and discipline of schools;
- (b) the arrangements and order of school premises;
- (c) school equipment and furnishings;
- (d) classification of schools and teachers;
- (e) prescribing the textbooks and apparatus for use in schools;
- (f) prescribing the duties and powers of school inspectors.
- (g) prescribing books for school libraries;
- (h) prescribing plans for the construction and furnishings of school houses;
- (i) prescribing standards of instruction and study for schools;
- (j) prescribing the length of the academic year, hours during which school shall be held, recesses, vacations and holidays; and
- (k) prescribing the duties of teacher and principals.⁹⁷

The commissioner appointed inspectors and determined who was "qualified to teach". He was the sole arbiter on any appeal or dispute arising from the decision of a board, inspector or other school official or upon any school matter. If, in his opinion, the affairs of a district so warranted, he could dissolve the board and substitute an administrator of his choice (with powers of a board of trustees) for an indefinite period and such other officials as he deemed necessary.

Educational needs in any part of the territories not erected into a school district were the responsibility of the commissioner who could establish such schools as he thought necessary and appoint an administrator and other officials with the same powers as a board of trustees.⁹⁸

In 1953 several minor sections of the Ordinance were amended.⁹⁹ Of greater significance were the regulations issued by the commissioner in January and October of the same year. The first set of regulations listed a minimum equipment and supply inventory which included patriotic, but no religious symbols, the days and hours of attendance (the former

excluded Roman Catholic holy days of obligation), the duties of teachers, who were "to teach diligently and faithfully in conformity with the program of studies prescribed for the schools," and the duties of pupils, principals and inspectors.¹⁰⁰ In October textbooks for territorial schools were prescribed; no denominationally-oriented texts were authorized except for an alternate series of Catholic readers (the regulation specified that authorized confessional readers were alternates in Catholic schools).¹⁰¹ While the term "Catholic school" was not interpreted, the intent appeared to be to limit such use to mission and separate schools only. The Ordinance did not encourage deviations from prescribed lists:

A teacher, trustee or other person who uses or causes to be used an unauthorized textbook or reference book, either in the place of or to supplement an authorized text book or reference book upon the same subject, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to summary conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars and costs, provided, however, that no prosecution shall be instituted under this section except by order of the Commissioner. 102

At its first session in 1955, Council passed an Ordinance authorizing the commissioner to enter into an agreement respecting the education of Indian children.¹⁰³ The subsequent contract together with a 1950 order in council which transferred to the minister of Resources and Development "the duties, powers, functions conferred and imposed upon the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and relating to the affairs of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Eskimos"¹⁰⁴ meant that the commissioner, as deputy minister of the federal government's principal northern agency, assumed complete responsibility for the education of all children in the Northwest Territories.

Most of Moore's regulatory suggestions had been realized within

a decade of his report. By 1955 legislation had been enacted making the commissioner the sole authority of a highly centralized system of education. While the continued existence of a separate and, to a lesser degree, a public school board was not in keeping with his scheme, their powers were so circumscribed that they fitted easily into his authority model. In fact the degree of centralization exceeded what Moore had envisaged in that the functions of school officials, notably the director of education (superintendent of education), were almost totally operational in character. This is not to say that local involvement and professional guidance were excluded from the system entirely; in practice, however, such influences were usually insignificant, and nearly always peripheral elements in the evolution of a distinct territorial educational program.

Although the educational role of the Catholic church was diminished with the advent of Indian and territorial schools, the comparative magnitude of its mission school operation prevented the administration from quickly achieving Moore's staff and non-denominational objectives. Requiring the church to hire teachers with first class professional certificates would have necessitated substantial grant increases to mission schools. However desirable it would have been to have the teaching sisters subject to a common set of regulations as civil servants, the very logistics of such a task, not to speak of its cost, led to some temporizing, especially when such matters as religious dress and symbols, the assignment of children, and attendant authority conflicts were considered. Moreover, it would have been exceedingly difficult to achieve such objectives in facilities belonging to the

church. As was shown in the discussion on fiscal implications, the administration's approach was gradualistic. By limiting capital and maintenance funds, by restricting the entrance of subsidized pupils to mission schools, and by underlining the racial and social results of dual school systems in small settlements, the administration sought to gradually erode the church's uncompromising stand. As the administration waited for change in the church's point of view as well as for additional funds to achieve its objectives when the change occurred, it compromised its stand by entering into agreements such as those for Coppermine and Chesterfield, which recognized an ethnic-religious axis. As the administration was attempting to obtain joint church-schooling agreements in communities like Aklavik, or common high school arrangements in Smith, it enunciated a policy for Hay River requiring teachers to be of the same faith as the majority of the pupils, and by so doing extended the religious clause to all classes of children. This was done in part to meet the denominational clauses of the Indian Act; yet in terms of strategy, it was entirely possible that once a common school system was achieved by means of this concession, the concession itself could be done away with for the same reasons used to achieve a common system of public education. The extent to which this strategy, however deliberate or whatever its motives, was realized will be examined in the discussion which follows.

2. The Lesage Plan

On March 28, 1955, Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in a press release entitled "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories" announced the government's approval of an

extensive programme of school construction "to provide better education for children in the Northwest Territories." According to the minister, "the steady increase in the Indian and Eskimo population...as well as the sharp drop in fur prices..." necessitated "other employment and sources of income...making the "need for education more important than it had been previously." Whether Lesage was aware that the native-wilderness equation had long been an element of government policy is not known; in any event, he was at least prepared to modify this principle somewhat, leaving room at the same time for:

...a special curriculum for Indian, Eskimo and other children...who are not likely to go beyond grade school. It will be designed to fit such children for the type of employments that are likely to be available in the Territories and which do not require advanced general education or specialized vocational training.

His announcement, however, dealt mainly with a construction schedule of a number of federally-owned hostels, which, except for one at Yellowknife, were to be operated either by the Anglican or Catholic churches, and integrated schools at Forts Simpson, McPherson, Smith, and Aklavik, to be operated by the Department of Northern Affairs.¹⁰⁵

Except for the continuance of the church-state pupil residence arrangement, the release did not refer to the mission system of schooling. However, a departmental working paper, prepared several months prior to Lesage's announcement, and substantially echoing his remarks, gave in considerable detail the logistics of the minister's plan, which had as one of its major purposes the closing of all publicly-financed mission schools in the Mackenzie.

Following a review of educational developments in the territories, the working paper outlined a number of proposals concerning curriculum

and related matters before specifying "an overall plan for the Mackenzie" which encompassed the provision of educational facilities at Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, Fort Simpson, Fort Providence, Aklavik (Inuvik), Yellowknife, and Frobisher Bay.¹⁰⁶ As the Frobisher Bay proposal concerned the eastern Arctic, it will not be discussed in this study - except to note that the same elements in the Mackenzie proposals underlined its rationale. As the Yellowknife non-denominational complex bore a close relationship to the development of the separate school in the community, its evolution will be reviewed in the examination of the latter institution. What is important to note here is that the fate of mission schooling in the Mackenzie was inexorably involved in the schooling proposals for the other five communities, which together with the foundation of additional federal schools in the district, became the issue of the ensuing and essentially climactic debate between government authorities and Catholic educational interests in the next few years. The character of these discussions as well as the outcome of the Lesage Plan will consequently be reviewed in the discussion below of the federal schools at (1) Fort Smith, (2) Fort Simpson, and (3) Aklavik-Inuvik.

Fort Smith School. It will be recalled from the Moore formula discussions that the position of the Catholic mission school in Smith was exceedingly tenuous by the mid-1950's: instruction was given in three buildings, which the working paper assessed as "in poor condition";¹⁰⁷ a subsidy of \$8,400. made it difficult to recruit or retain lay teachers, or to obtain sufficient supplies and adequate equipment; and the school's ethnic composition and attendant instruct-

ional problems had prompted the exodus of most white pupils. The situation at St. Joseph's in Resolution was equally precarious. The overcrowded building-- "a fire hazard," according to a field officer--¹⁰⁸ needed to be replaced; per pupil grants were low even from a government standpoint, while the mission school's relationship to the half-empty federal school remained ambiguous.

It was in this context that Jean Lesage met with Bishops Trocellier and Marsh (Anglican) in early January 1955 to discuss his proposals. A record of the conversations is not available; but the working paper together with subsequent correspondence indicates that the minister sought support for a plan which included references to the Smith and Resolution mission schools, about which there appeared to be general agreement in a number of areas:

1. Both Bishops agreed not to take children of the other faith into residences under their jurisdiction.
2. Hostel accomodation for approximately 400 Roman Catholic pupils was to be provided at Smith for children from the Upper Mackenzie District taking the all-purpose or the academic curriculum to Grade 6 from areas where day schools were not available. Bishop Trocellier was asked to operate the hostel on the basis of grants calculated to meet the entire cost of operation.
3. It was anticipated that the day school enrollment in Smith would increase from 201 in 1955 to 355 in 1960 (80 per cent of which would be Roman Catholic). On the understanding that the Catholic school facilities would be abandoned and that the four-room public school would continue in use, it was estimated that six additional classrooms would be needed for day pupils, and that another twelve rooms would have to be provided for students living in hostel.
4. The mission residential school at Resolution would no longer operate as soon as the hostels at Smith and Yellowknife were built. Day pupils who were permanent residents would attend the existing federal school.
5. All full-time teachers employed in mission day and residential schools in the Mackenzie would be federal employees. ¹⁰⁹

That Trocellier agreed to give up two mission schools, representing a century's labour, is understandable only in terms of his belief

that the Catholicity of the proposed Smith complex would not differ essentially from that of the abandoned foundations. Yet he soon had reason to be less than optimistic. On the day of the press release, Lesage wrote Trocellier. After advising him that the Cabinet had accepted the plan, he went on to outline some details not included in the release: (1) teachers of pupils up to Grade VI in the schools associated with hostels would be of the denomination of the pupils; (2) the Smith hostel would be for Roman Catholic Indians (initial capacity 200); (3) the Smith school would be staffed by Roman Catholic teachers; and (4) there was to be no separation according to religion in the case of all mixed schools for instruction in Grades VII to XII (Fort Smith and Aklavik), vocational subjects, and other specialized subjects.¹¹⁰ Writing to the minister on April 22, Trocellier took strong exception to items 1 and 4:

Je suis, sous l'impression que c'est le 'sabotage' complet des écoles catholiques ut [sic] dans les T.N.O. Je souhaite de me tromper et de n'avoir pas mal compris les beaux plans que vous faites miroiter devant moi en Janvier dernier. Par exemple au Fort Smith tout serait catholique depuis le grade 1 jusqu'au grade 12... 111

The minister's reply, dated May 6, was unequivocal as well as reassuring:

Ce que nous ferons au Fort Smith, c'est de construire un pensionnat pour 200 élèves et une nouvelle école (qui pourront être agrandis...) Le pensionnat vous sera confié. Quant à l'école ce sera une école fédérale où le personnel enseignant, y compris le principal, sera catholique de la 1ère à la 12^e année.

Je vous réitère qu'il est entendu qu'aussitôt que la nouvelle école du Fort Smith sera complétée, nous y emploierons un principal et des professeurs catholiques. 112

Apparently satisfied with the minister's reply, the bishop

turned his attention to the site of the new school, arguing that it be located near the mission hospital, while the project's planners wanted it built on a lot (47) somewhat removed from the centre of the settlement. The resulting impasse was finally broken when Trocellier agreed to have the facility constructed on Lot 47 - property owned by the church which was transferred to the government at cost.¹¹³

In the meantime a senior official of the department, having been warned by two field officers that the Protestant residents of the settlement would object to having all Catholic teachers in the new school, reported to the minister on an interview he had in late August with Father G. Laviolette (general secretary, Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission) who suggested that it would be best to have a separate school or a separate wing for non-Catholic pupils, similar to the arrangement contemplated for the new school at Simpson. Rejecting both suggestions, the official suggested instead another alternative in which the Protestant children would be in the same building, but in separate rooms having Protestant teachers. After noting that Laviolette "was not at all happy about this suggestion," the official recommended that the department stand by "the present plan" in which "the teachers are Catholic throughout, because at every level the majority of students are Catholic." He admitted that the department, in following such a course of action, "would probably have to contemplate the possibility of criticism." The interview concluded with brief references to textbooks, social studies, and the separation of pupils.

While Catholic textbooks could be authorized for the entire school, the official considered such a scheme to be not at all feasible, particularly if there were mixed Catholic and Protestant rooms. "I am

perfectly certain that we would have a major explosion if Catholic texts were used in a room in which there were also Protestant children." Laviolette was not adamant, saying that neither he nor Trocellier viewed the question of Catholic texts as a major issue; however, he did emphasize that they wanted Catholic texts wherever possible. Laviolette then raised a proposal for arranging social studies in mixed classes on a basis in which Catholic pupils would receive instruction separately. The official did not encourage this suggestion, believing that it would not "be pressed." The discussion ended with Laviolette indicating that the bishop was unhappy with having pupils separate to Grade VI only; what was wanted was separation according to religion to Grade IX at least, if not to the end of Grade XII. Although there were practical difficulties, separation to Grade IX was possible, according to the official, but not in the senior grades, if for no other reason than that there were too few students.¹¹⁴

It was generally understood at least until an Ottawa meeting in October 1955 between Lesage and Trocellier that the separation arrangement at Smith (that is, totally Catholic rooms and mixed Catholic and Protestant rooms) was based on the assumption that the entire teaching staff would be Catholic. Following the meeting, however, Lesage sought confirmation from Trocellier for an arrangement in which

...un ou des professeurs protestants pourront donc être employés dans ces quatre salles de classe [the existing federal public school] suivant les circonstances de religion des élèves. 115

Replying to the minister Trocellier approached the request circuitously:

Enfin j'arrive au point principal de votre lettre. Vous établissez le principe que pour les grades supérieurs du Fort Smith il pourra y avoir éventuellement un et même vous dites des professeurs protestants.

Obviously non-plussed - "je ne sais vraiment pas que dire" - the bishop related a tale of a dog's unsuccessful attempts to take a bone from his master - the moral apparently being that despite the minister's tenacity, the bishop had no doubts as to his goodwill or integrity:

...C'est pourquoi je ne m'objecterai pas trop fort en ce qui regarde la possibilité de l'emploi d'un professeur non-catholique dans une des salles de classes actuelles de l'école fédérale du Fort Smith lorsqu'il y aura un nombre suffisant d'élèves non-catholiques comme vous me le demandiez. 116

Pleased with the bishop's compliance, the minister, in a letter dated December 1, advised that the separation principle had been advanced from Grade VI:

jusqu'au Grade 8 inclusivement, toujours sauf à Fort Smith, et il semble...qu'il s'agit là de quelque chose qui, pour l'avenir, est plus important que le point auquel vous avez consenti....117

As negotiations over the arrangements for the new school continued the two Catholic educational organizations in Smith, the Catholic Parent-Teachers Association (CPTA) and the local chapter of the Mackenzie Catholic Education Association (MCEA), proceeded with programmes, which, on the surface at least, seemed oblivious to the ramifications of the Lesage plan.¹¹⁸ The Smith CPTA, founded with Trocellier's encouragement in the fall of 1955, promoted a programme of general religious education, school-community support, and a series of monthly lectures by speakers who would, according to the CPTA's minutes of October 8, 1956, "keep in perfect harmony with the teaching of the Catholic Church by using, as a basis for their assertions, the encyclical of His Holiness Pope Pius [sic] XII [sic] on 'Christian Education of Youth.'" ¹¹⁹ The Association's last newsletter was published on May 31, 1957, a few days before its final meeting. With the integration of

the Smith public and mission schools in the fall of 1957, Sister M. O. Sarrasin (former principal of the Catholic day school and CPTA secretary) bleakly admitted that the Association, in which she had played a founding role, was at a virtual "stand still," there being little hope of it being revitalized.¹²⁰

Based in part on a proposal for a territorial Catholic Education Association outlined by Father S. Lesage in October 1951,¹²¹ the MCEA was formed as a result of the aspirations of a Catholic group within the Northwest Territories Teachers Association (1953)¹²² which met in Yellowknife during a convention in September 1955.¹²³ In November Trocellier approved the Association's regulations which required the executive to prepare discussion topics for study group units of Catholic teachers throughout the district. Elected president, Sarrasin supervised essay and poster contests and distributed filmstrips and pamphlets including the bulletins of the Alberta Catholic Education Association until the summer of 1957 when the Association became moribund.¹²⁴ To Sarrasin the Smith arrangement so compromised the church's position "that our army of fighters for Catholic Education is dispersed...Our opponents are extremely active in carrying out what they believe to be best; we sit there, paralyzed, forced to remain content...."¹²⁵ Most of Sarrasin's coreligionists who were active in educational affairs were similarly unaware of the intricateness of the Lesage plan, and like her, were ill-prepared to debate its conditions, except in orthodox terms, when the scheme was finally made public.

Another aspect of the Lesage plan tacitly approved by Trocellier was the integration of mission school staffs into the federal public service, a recommendation, it will be recalled, advanced by Moore a

decade earlier. In justifying the additional expense, "a net increase in cost of \$41,200.00," in having mission school teachers become federal employees, the working paper argued that "this would be a distinct advantage in raising the standards of the teachers employed [sic] and would enable the Administration to exercise greater control over the curriculum and over the operation of such schools."¹²⁶ Confirming an understanding between the minister and the bishop, Commissioner R. G. Robertson advised Trocellier on April 23, 1956, that the mission school teachers "are being employed by this Department NANR with effect from the 1st of April, 1956."¹²⁷ Following documentation procedures which excluded at least two "unqualified" mission teachers from permanent employment, mission teachers became eligible for those benefits accorded federal employees except for a northern subsidy not granted "members of a religious order."¹²⁸ Another condition of employment required teachers wishing to leave their posts to submit resignations by the "1st of May."¹²⁹ No such restriction had prevented the movement of sisters previously; however, when it was learned that the mother superior in Smith planned to relocate several teaching sisters in June 1956, a field officer observed:

The implications lead me to suppose that the Mother Superior can move, and will move, these school teachers, all of whom are Reverend Sisters, at her least whim regardless of the situation that may result.... This policy is not satisfactory as far as we are concerned. These Sisters became Civil Servants as of the 1st of April. 130

Several days later mother superior was told by the same officer: "It is imperative that these Sisters, who have now undertaken to teach in government schools and are therefore responsible to the Federal Government, are made aware of the difficulties involved."¹³¹

The Smith school question was still far from settled in the spring of 1957 when Trocellier along with two confrères paid a call on the minister on the last day of March. The next day they began an interview with one of the minister's representatives by suggesting that there be a completely separate school for Protestant children. After recounting a number of difficulties inherent in such a solution, including its cost and lack of flexibility, the official asked Trocellier to consider an alternative which apparently had the minister's sanction:

I told the Bishop that I could see no difficulty in having a new school building that would house the junior grades and in which there would be separation of pupils at least in grades 1 to 6.

The bishop wanted separation to go to Grade IX, a grade higher than a previous understanding; in any event, no agreement was reached. The subject changed when the official stated that he did not think "there could be any reasonable objection by the Protestants to the fact that all the teachers would be Catholic since the overwhelming majority of the children were Catholic," however, there would be "real difficulty" if there were crucifixes, Catholic readers, and teachers in religious garb in classes enrolling Protestant children. When one of the Oblates suggested that "lay teachers would be used, there would be no crucifixes, and Catholic readers would be used only for supplementary instruction for Catholic children," the bishop agreed to this for an interim period. In so doing he extended the possibility of non-separated classes into the elementary grades, as well as restricting further the Catholicity of instruction by agreeing to the absence of confessional symbols which were much more than mere externa or conventions of little consequence. The interview ended when the bishop was

given a draft concerning the operation of the proposed Smith hostel.¹³²

The contract between the Crown and the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of the Mackenzie for the operation of the Fort Smith hostel¹³³ --later named Breynat Hall by one of Lesage's successors, W. Dinsdale,¹³⁴ --was consented to with a minimum of difficulty. There was never any doubt between the church and senior officials of the department that Breynat Hall was only for "children of the Roman Catholic Faith,"¹³⁵ although at least one field officer presumed, prior to the hostel's opening, that Protestant children were also eligible.¹³⁶ Any such misconceptions were clarified with the circulation of selection criteria which included the stipulation: "Only the children of the faith of the church authority operating the residential school or hostel will be eligible for admission."¹³⁷ That this provision controverted a clause in the hostel contract, namely, that the management would "not discriminate against any child because of his race, creed, or colour..." seemed not to disturb either signatory. Nor did the church appear concerned about another clause permitting the agreement to be terminated "by either party giving to the other twelve clear months notice in writing..."¹³⁸ As all hostel operating and capital costs were to be borne by the government, the church no longer had to contribute to such enterprises, unless its managers exceeded 'reasonable and proper' limits which were subsequently itemized in audit and operational manuals.¹³⁹ Some religious were very apprehensive about the new facility, including one who wrote Trocellier asking to be relieved: "The whole thing is too complicated for me."¹⁴⁰ Others questioned the provision of supplies and furnishings;¹⁴¹ one responded to an audit query over a "172.00 expenditure for window shades

in the hostel chapel" by reminding a senior civil servant of the initial understanding regarding Breynat Hall: "...the Department would be responsible for everything in the chapel up to the communion rail inclusive, plus the platform on which the altar would be erected in the Sanctuary."¹⁴²

Notwithstanding the fact that not a few Oblates viewed the government's requirement that children in permanent residence attend local day schools (which were increasing in number) to be not only in open contradiction to its pupil residence plan, but also as an attempt to frustrate the parents' "natural right" to decide upon the form as well as the location of their childrens' education,¹⁴³ senior church and governmental authorities worked amicably in determining admission and operational procedures for Breynat Hall.¹⁴⁴ For the most part, then, departmental officers were neither concerned about the removal of the children from the mission residence at Resolution, nor apprehensive about the management of the new hostel. When it became apparent that the latter institution would not be ready for occupancy in September 1957, the transfer of pupils was re-scheduled for December. Except for this delay all appeared to be going well, until Trocellier, in an almost desperate stratagem to remedy what he considered to be an intolerable arrangement, wrote an Oblate official in Ottawa on November 18:

Je demande donc que cette situation soit corrigée dans le sens original des ententes conclues avec le Gouvernement, avant le transfert des élèves du pensionnat de Fort Résolution à l'école de Fort Smith car le système actuellement en opération est contraire aux stipulations de la loi des Indiens. 145

Fearing the government might "hâter le transfert avant que la question soit réglée," the official sent a telegram to the superior of the mission

at Resolution telling him to postpone the transfer, explaining his directive further on December 5:

Notre plus puissant argument pour obtenir des classes catholiques, c'est que les indiens y ont droit. Si nous acceptons le fait accompli à Fort Smith et y envoyions les enfants de Fort Resolution avant que la situation soit réglée nous risquons de tout perdre. 146

Upon receipt of these instructions, the priest wrote the district administrator in Smith:

...Due to the last decision taken by His Excellency Bishop Trocellier, with regard to Indian children, of which I hope you are aware, we will not move until the School Situation at Fort Smith is settled in accordance with his demands. 147

The Indian Act was only a point of reference and as such was of little immediate value. But the occupancy of Breynat Hall which had never been a matter of contention, became for the church the fulcrum upon which the classroom arrangement would be changed.

As indicated in a review of discussions between church and state officials from January 1956 to April 1957, there were a number of areas of ambiguity and outright disagreement concerning the Fort Smith school. Field officers, in particular, were often unaware of the context of talks at senior levels. For example, on June 13 W. Winter (superintendent of schools) wrote J. Jacobson (chief, Education Division) that the "Education Office in Fort Smith often hears of new educational plans indirectly through church officials."¹⁴⁸ On July 3, he reiterated his concern:

It seems an unusual situation that details on the operation of this school have not been worked out and sent to the Superintendent of Schools...A reply to this memorandum and to the memorandum of June 13 is therefore requested.... Any further delay will cause nothing but increased doubt and non-confidence in the minds of parents and people who have an interest in this school. 149

When "tentative" information was finally sent, Winter reviewed the arrangement in which there was to be approximately

... 7 classrooms...being filled with complete [sic] R.C. pupils. It is presumed in this case that each of the remaining 7 classrooms would contain both R.C. and Protestant pupils. This division of pupils will have no useful value from an instructional viewpoint and it will help to develop within the children strong feelings of differences which will result in a demoralizing tone within the school. 150

Two days after he forwarded these comments to Ottawa he received a table which showed that there would be seven rooms "entirely Roman Catholic and in which crucifixes may be displayed and religious readers used." The table also indicated that there would be eight "mixed" classrooms (Catholic and Protestant pupils) "in which these things could not be done." Instructions accompanying the table advised him to

...adhere as closely to these arrangements as possible since the Deputy Minister had agreed to a distribution similar to that shown and has advised the Church authorities that an arrangement like this will be put into effect. 151

By this time Winter had decided to resign. According to a headline article in The News of the North (Yellowknife), dated July 18, he was quoted as saying that he had forwarded his resignation to Ottawa because of the "proposed religious segregation of the pupils in the Federal School now being built at Fort Smith." He was reported as saying that there was only one Protestant teacher left on the staff of the Fort Smith school "and that efforts had been made...to have her transferred..." an action, according to the article, which led to the circulation of a petition "among the Fort Smith Protestants against such a move."¹⁵² A directory of teachers for the 1957-1958 school year indicates that the teacher in question remained.¹⁵³

In a letter by G. O. Lavoie (a member of CPTA and MCEA in Smith), published in the August 1 edition of News of the North, an account of the public school's Home and School Association's meeting on July 23 was given. According to Lavoie the response to an outline of the policy governing the organization of the new school given by Winter was condemnatory, the consensus being that the arrangement was both segregationist and undemocratic. Lavoie took exception to the remarks, arguing that a "compromise" in which only seven of a possible sixteen classrooms would be denominational was fair in that it accomodated "two directly opposed philosophies of education"; one which maintained that all learning should be taught in "the light of Christian principles," the other which maintained that "religion has no place in formal education." An editorial commenting on Lavoie's letter, entitled "That Vexing School Problem," by E. R. Horton, a Roman Catholic, was sardonic in tone; the division planned for Smith was a "farce" - a "waste of public funds":

Are we going to perpetuate this sort of decision among our people by such absurdities?

Who is going to control our educational destiny? The federal government? The NWT Council? Or the religious denominations? 154

In early August a group of Catholic parents expressed its disfavour over arrangements for a "neutral school which deviates from Catholic beliefs concerning education"¹⁵⁵ to D. Harkness, who succeeded Lesage following the defeat of the Liberal administration in June. In late August Commissioner R. G. Robertson was dispatched to Smith where he explained the proposed organization of the school to a public meeting.¹⁵⁶ Although the final disposition of classes did not occur until January

1958, following completion of the new building and the move from Resolution, the school opened on an integrated basis in September.¹⁵⁷ In late November the substance of Robertson's remarks, which Catholic authorities found wanting in many respects, were circulated in a résumé entitled "Brief Statement of Arrangements for Organizing and Administering the Federal School at Fort Smith."¹⁵⁸ On November 25, 1957, an Oblate official, whom Trocellier had authorized "to carry on negotiations during his absence," advised the commissioner of the bishop's concern:

1. His Excellency has never understood that the classes attended by some non-Catholic pupils, would be considered neutral;

2. He has never accepted formally that sisters would not be allowed to teach in the High School grades;

3. He simply agreed that in the elementary classes where the non-Catholics would be grouped, preference would be given to lay teachers and that catholic readers would not be imposed on these non-Catholic pupils.

The bishop was also alarmed by a statement made by a departmental official:

At Fort Smith, in any classroom where Protestant children are being taught, no religious emblems will be displayed, non-denominational readers will be used and the teachers will not wear religious habits.

It was understood when Trocellier was asked

...by your Department to discontinue his mission schools at Fort Smith and Fort Resolution, in order to group all the children in one and the same school at Fort Smith, he was given the assurance that all teachers at the proposed new school, from Grade 1 to Grade 12, would be catholic. This agreement...implied that the...school would be conducted in accordance with catholic Educational principles.

The church, anticipating "the objection of the Protestants to this arrangement, had always proposed that they be given a school of their own," but the department, fearing that such a division would result in "racial segregation," had persistently advocated a compromise "which

now breeds misunderstandings and hard feelings." It was the Oblate's considered opinion that there was only one way to resolve the dilemma:

...we strongly suggest again the complete separation of Catholics and non-Catholics at Fort Smith's school [sic]. We see no other fair solution acceptable to the catholic majority. In our opinion, forcing a majority to renounce to [sic] its principles, especially when the minority could be satisfied otherwise, is a one-way compromise. 159

Following discussion with Oblate officials in Ottawa, a senior departmental official wrote Trocellier on December 16 to advise that several minor amendments had been made to the policy statement:

"Organization and Administration, Fort Smith Federal Day School"

(vide Appendix H). These modifications, according to the official, went "to the limit that I think is possible, without increasing the certainty of further difficulty..."¹⁶⁰ Two days later another senior civil servant sent the following message to the district office in Smith:

Have consulted Bishop Trocellier by telephone. Action by _____ [superior of mission at Resolution] appears to be based on misunderstanding. Bishop is sending instructions today to _____ to carry on with arrangements for the move. Receive all one hundred and sixty-eight children as listed.... 161

Having abandoned his attempt to withhold the Resolution children in order to obtain a separate Catholic school in Smith, Trocellier also failed to follow through with his threat to bring the issue "devant le Conference Catholique de l'Episcopal Canadien et, si nécessaire, devant le public."¹⁶² In poor health and obviously dispirited, he had Father L. Mokwa, who accompanied the Resolution children to Smith, represent the church when Robertson officially opened the new school and hostel in early January.¹⁶³ With the closing of St. Joseph's,

Resolution, its day pupils who, except for some minor and contentious concessions, had hitherto been "expressly forbidden to attend a school other than a denominational one" registered at the local federal school.¹⁶⁴ Subsequent attempts by the church to reopen St. Joseph's were unsuccessful; in 1959, for example, a civil servant's reaction to an overture by Bishop P. Piché, Trocellier's successor, to use the mission school as a pupil residence characterized the government's position: "We do not look with favour on this being done, since it would in effect be a **revival** of the old mission residential type of institution."¹⁶⁵

Following the closing of the Catholic day school in Smith, the integrated school functioned more or less in accord with the policy statement. Concern was expressed, particularly by field officers of the department from time to time, about recruiting Catholic teachers.¹⁶⁶ In one instance, after comparing high school examination results of the Smith, Yellowknife, and Hay River schools over a three year period, an official concluded that "...if complete freedom in select[ing] teachers according to their abilities were possible, we would in a large measure help to alleviate this situation."¹⁶⁷ Catholic authorities, on the other hand, sought to alleviate their grievances in an entirely different context. In a memorandum, dated December 21, 1959, a senior departmental officer advised a member of his staff as follows:

I think there is no question but that the Catholic Church authorities will want to have a separate school at Fort Smith whenever the Catholic community there is in a position to be at all self-supporting. 168

Thus, when a proposal for another eight classrooms at Smith was being considered, the church's attempt to establish these classrooms as a separate Protestant school or to create separate denominational wings

in an enlarged school was not encouraged by the same civil servant because they would result in "...sharp criticism and a good deal of difficulty on the ground that public funds were being used for denominational purposes.... We cannot end up with any of the buildings being or seeming to be a denominational school."¹⁶⁹

Some Oblates, notwithstanding the "self-supporting" stipulation, continued to look forward to the day when clause 16 of the policy statement would be implemented: "When the total number of [Protestant] children in grades 1-9 inclusive is sufficient to warrant it, a separate wing will be built to accomodate them."¹⁷⁰ Father Kroetch, for example, in his 1964 study still contemplated this happening: "The number of Protestant pupils have not as yet been sufficient to warrant a separate wing for their education";¹⁷¹ but not a few of his confrères had long abandoned such hopes, believing that the Smith-Resolution 'compromise' was an irrevocable step leading to the demise of Catholic education in the district.

Trocellier died on November 27, 1958. In the oration at the requiem mass in Smith Bishop L. Coudert (Vicariate of the Yukon) asked the assembly if, in conclusion, he could speak about one of Trocellier's outstanding characteristics:

Sa nature franchement droite ne connaissait aucun subterfuge; il disait clairement à qui voulait l'entendre toute sa pensée, et il ne croyait pas qu'on put se servir d'artifice à son égard il eut parfois à en souffrir, lorsque de bonne foi il avait du céder 'pour le plus grand bien des âmes' pensait-il, à des arguments bien présentés par certains officiers du Gouvernement avec qui il avait du traiter; à la fin de sa vie, je l'ai entendu exprimer son étonnement d'avoir pu être dupe de certains compromis scolaires qu'on lui avait fait accepter et qu'il ne cessa de regretter. 172

The Fort Simpson School. With the appointment of a lay teacher to

St. Margaret's (Fort Simpson) in 1953, an "Advisory School Board" was formed "to protect and promote the interests of a Catholic school on the Island."¹⁷³ According to Father S. Lesage (superior of the Simpson mission and Jean Lesage's cousin),¹⁷⁴ the Board was also concerned about schooling in the surrounding district including the use of the mission boarding school at Providence.¹⁷⁵ Although St. Margaret's enrollment was only seventeen in the fall of 1954, the Board in addition to giving consideration to the repair of the existing facility, submitted a request to the government through Father Lesage on November 10 for assistance toward the construction of a teacher's residence and a two-classroom school. Commissioner Robertson acknowledged the Board's submission on December 15.¹⁷⁶ Five days later Father G. Laviolette (general secretary, Oblate Indian Eskimo Welfare Commission) advised Lesage of a conversation he had with M. Hardie (Liberal, Mackenzie District) in which the latter reported on the department's plans (which were in accord with a previous petition of the board)¹⁷⁷ to build a Catholic pupil residence in Simpson.¹⁷⁸ Unlike his colleague, who was awaiting Trocellier's direction, Lesage had definite plans concerning the kind of school which the Catholic interns should attend. On December 20, the same day as the general secretary's letter, Lesage wrote Laviolette, reminding him that the government had advanced a proposal for a common school with separate denominational classrooms for Yellowknife in 1952,¹⁷⁹ and while the church had not accepted this, it might well entertain such a "compromise" for Simpson which, although far from being "praiseworthy," might be acceptable providing certain conditions were met:

...Je suggère le compromise suivant dans l'hypothèse d'établissement de salles séparées dans un même édifice pour les écoles établies en dehors d'arrondissements scolaires. Il y a lieu de noter d'abord que le Commissaire peut, en vertu de l'a 6 c. 18 de l'Ordonnance scolaire de 1952, nommer un administrateur et des officiers nécessaires à l'administration et au maintien des écoles. Le choix de ces officiers pourrait affecter gravement les intérêts des classes séparées catholiques. Alors, il serait acceptable à la conscience catholique, je pense, d'établir des salles de classes séparées pour les catholiques et les protestants dans un même édifice l'administration en serait confiée à un administrateur, selon Ordonnance scolaire, aidé de deux commissions scolaires composées d'officiers catholiques et protestants respectivement et avec pouvoirs aux termes de l'a. 67, pour FINS CONSULTATIVES. 180

Needless to say, Lesage's aspirations differed substantially from those held by the Simpson federal school's Home and School Association. In a letter to Hardie, dated January 1, 1955, Lesage, noting the above Association favoured a "unique UNDENOMINATIONAL School," argued that any agreement for the education of the Catholic population must "guarantee the engagement of Catholic teachers in all grades and the use of Catholic readers...." Moreover, it was unimaginable that the minister "will give up to them [the Protestant minority]" and refuse to treat the missionaries generously "pour les aider dans leur tâche civilisatrice et éminemment chrétienne" as he had promised in an address at the University of Ottawa less than a month before.¹⁸¹

One of the programmes discussed during meetings between Jean Lesage and Bishops Marsh and Trocellier in January 1955 concerned the provision of educational facilities at Simpson: a hostel for Anglican Indians (capacity 50); a hostel for Roman Catholic Indians (capacity 100); and a school which would have separate classrooms (to Grade 6) for children of both denominations.¹⁸² Informed, at least in general terms, of the discussions by Trocellier and Laviolette,¹⁸³ Father Lesage received from a senior departmental officer early in April an

outline of "our future plans for education at Fort Simpson" which "both Bishops Trocellier and Marsh have agreed to...." The contents of the officer's letter are summarized as follows: (1) funds were being provided in the 1955-1956 estimates to construct a one-room addition to the federal school to accomodate children attending St. Margaret's; (2) a residence for the teacher who would be in charge of the classroom addition was also to be provided; (3) within the next five years the department planned to build two hostels at Simpson to be operated by the church authorities concerned; (4) day and hostel pupils would attend the federal school which would be further enlarged; and (5) when the hostels and schools were completed at Simpson the residential school at Providence would be replaced by a small day school.¹⁸⁴

The Simpson proposal approved by Trocellier (except possibly the grade separation limitation) did not differ from what Lesage had envisaged earlier. Yet, despite the understanding "that the children of Catholic Faith will continue to be taught in a class-room or class-rooms provided for them and by teachers of their own Faith," Lesage expressed concern in a letter to Commissioner Robertson on April 15. "The protection of parental rights," he contended, could be assured in two ways. First, the Catholic and the Protestant teacher would each be responsible for the "organization and discipline of his class-room in the capacity of a Principal." If this were not done, "the absolute powers of principalship conferred to the teacher of the one section over the teacher of the other would give rise to controversial issues of religious, educational, and disciplinary characters." Second, Lesage urged that separate boards of trustees be established according to the formula outlined in his letter of December 20 to Laviolette.¹⁸⁵ While

awaiting Robertson's reply, he was assured by Laviolette that Mr. Lesage's "grand plan d'ensemble" was so structured that the Catholic children from the Simpson area "de la septième année en montant" would attend the high school in Smith which would be "catholique complet jusqu'à la douzième année inclusivement..."¹⁸⁶

On May 9 Lesage received Robertson's comments. Although decisions as to the organization and administration of the school had not been finalized, the department had in mind appointing two assistant principals:

Children from both hostels will attend an enlarged federal school, but Roman Catholic children will attend in a separate wing of the new federal school....We are thinking of having an assistant principal in each wing of the school. This assistant-principal will be in complete charge of his wing in so far as its organization and discipline are concerned. A principal will be appointed who will have overall responsibility for the administration of the school, but he will not interfere with the organization and discipline of the separate wings under the jurisdiction of the assistant principals. He will act as liaison officer in so far as the relationship between the two parts of the school are concerned.

The children attending St. Margaret's would transfer to the new one-room wing in the federal school. The teacher of the federal school would become principal of the two-room school, but his principalship would be confined to "administrative duties..., with the...Catholic class-room operating, in effect, as a separate unit and the teacher of that class-room being responsible for the organization and discipline of his room." At the same time, it was hoped, "in the interests of teaching efficiency," arrangements could be made for the combination of some subjects in some grades.

In terms of Lesage's second point Robertson did not see how the sections of the Ordinance referring to the appointment of an administrator could be used for the purposes suggested. Roman Catholic parents, on the

other hand, might form a committee similar to the federal school's Home and School Association, and while such a group would not have legal status, it could perform "a very useful function along the very lines in which you expressed interest."¹⁸⁷

Shortly after receiving Robertson's letter, Lesage wrote Laviolette noting that he had received a letter from Trocellier on May 7¹⁸⁸ in which the bishop had not taken a stand on Lesage's point of view that an advisory school board with legal powers was an essential prerequisite of Catholic acceptance of the Simpson compromise. As the government had refused this, Lesage was no longer disposed to accept the proposed separate classroom arrangement, especially when he considered the vacillating attitude of Trocellier and his advisors.¹⁹⁰ On May 30, he wrote Robertson again recommending that an administrator (a local citizen preferably), assisted by a representative of each Home and School Association, be appointed to carry out the responsibilities which Robertson had described in his May 9th letter. As Robertson had already rejected such an appointment, the reasons for Lesage's persistence, reiterated in a somewhat different form, are evident in his views of the state of affairs existing between the two schools. Citing the "undue moral pressure" which the federal school had exerted in registering Catholic pupils in the past, together with the inability of "ignorant, niave [sic]...Indians and Half-breeds to act in accordance with the dictates of their right conscience in educational matters," Lesage foresaw these phenomena being further compounded with the assignment of the Catholic teacher to "a status of inferiority in relation to the Protestant teacher..."¹⁹⁰ There is no record of a reply to Lesage's letter, although his remarks prompted one of Robertson's

subordinates to observe:

The writers are ignoring the fact that they are entitled to organize a school district, which will give them all the controls they want. Possibly the trouble is that to do so carries with it the obligation to pay school taxes. They, therefore, want us to devise some method whereby they can have the benefits of organization without the burdens. 191

Lesage's parishioners were kept advised of schooling developments in the parish bulletin The Catholic Voice. In May, for example, they were told that the proposed dual system "is an arrangement giving temporarily fair justice,"¹⁹² but it is not known how many of them received a special French edition, published on June 5, entitled "Compromis Scolaire à Fort Simpson," which included copies of much of the correspondence exchanged between church and government officials concerning the Simpson arrangement since November.¹⁹³ Among the recipients of this edition were the apostolic delegate and the superior general of the Oblates, both of whom, while cautioning Lesage to work in concert with his bishop, praised him for his efforts.¹⁹⁴

In the meantime, in line with Robertson's suggestion, a Catholic Parent-Teacher Association was formed in June to replace the Advisory School Board with Mr. F. Sibbeston and Father Lesage elected president and secretary respectively. One of the Association's first acts was to call upon Laviolette to approach the proper authorities to have someone other than a teacher, possibly a local official of the department, be responsible for the overall supervision and administration of the school.¹⁹⁵ It is not known what action Laviolette took, but there is little doubt that he had a difficult assignment, especially if an assessment of Lesage made by a senior officer in July reflected departmental thinking:

He [Lesage] is, and always has been, opposed to any amalgamation of schools in the North and I feel will do everything possible to cause embarrassment to us. He does not hesitate to disagree with decisions made by his Bishop. 196

While the addition was being built during the fall of 1955, Lesage reassured his parishioners in October that the "Catholic children would be taught by Catholic teachers provided for them while the others will be taught by Protestants in separate classrooms."¹⁹⁷ In December he wrote:

We might add that teaching is under the respective authority of the respective teachers who have complete autonomy and responsibility for the organization and discipline of their respective classroom. Thus, neither has power and control over the other, each has full authority delegated by the Commissioner through special and precise instructions. 198

Lesage's demarcations were not shared by the secretary of the federal school's Home and School Association who wrote the commissioner in early October about assurances he had received "from administrative officers that the two schools at Fort Simpson would be amalgamated, thereby dividing the grades between two teachers."¹⁹⁹ In reply the commissioner outlined the kind of division planned, emphasizing the progress made when "we obtained approval both from the church authorities and from Cabinet to have a combination of school facilities at such centres as Fort Simpson and Aklavik, even though we provide a Roman Catholic wing for elementary grades in these new schools."²⁰⁰ When the combined school, with the separate classrooms, was officially opened on January 5, Lesage, having already blessed the Catholic section on the third, was pleased with the comments made by representatives of the two parental groups, but he found those made by the teacher of the federal school (whose remarks were recorded in the next issue of The

Catholic Voice) as an impetus for increased vigilance:²⁰¹

...It gives me [the federal teacher] the opportunity to express publicly a certain amount of disappointment I feel personally as an educator and a teacher that this beautiful room is not to be used as a Grade 1-2-3 primary classroom; and the other...as a room for senior pupils. I had dreamed of a union of the Faiths at Fort Simpson in the education of its children. 202

Later that month, disappointment of the kind referred to above was reiterated by several members of Council, including J. Parker (Mackenzie North), who objected vigorously to "the segregation at Fort Simpson," affirming his earlier contention that "religion should be kept out of classrooms."²⁰³ Notwithstanding these protestations, the department remained steadfast, although its determination to uphold the combined school concept was strained considerably by Father Lesage's propensity to keep all instructional arrangements separate, even to the extent of refusing to permit a government subsidized projector from being used in other than the Catholic room.²⁰⁴ Warning Trocellier that Lesage's obdurateness on such matters demonstrated a lack of "prudence et de tact en cette question si épineuse," a senior Oblate official transmitted a request from a member of Cabinet that it would be well to have as a priest at Simpson "un Père qui saurait, par son tact, créer un atmosphere de sympathie d'entente cordiale, entre catholique et non catholiques..."²⁰⁵ Lesage was so informed,²⁰⁶ but remained in charge, devoting the remainder of the school year to an attempt to secure a teacher's aide for the Catholic room,²⁰⁷ and negotiating on the site of the proposed school-hostel complex, which was subsequently located on lots owned by the Anglican and Catholic missions.²⁰⁸ Shortly after the end of term, he learned that the school regulations had been amended by the commissioner (vide Appendix I). Although the changes were not

in accord with his recommendations for a non-teaching administrator, they at least reflected previous assurances that the separate school wings would have considerable autonomy.

Obedient to what he referred to as the dictates of his 'Catholic conscience', Lesage, fearing that the separation principle would be compromised prior to the completion of the new educational facility, spent the next four years (1956/57-1959/60) attempting to ensure that the year-to-year classroom arrangement maintained a Catholic separateness and that the design of the new complex would manifest the same distinction. In September 1956, when the teachers, supported by district educational officers, were considering grouping in certain subjects, Lesage, despite a suggestion by one of his colleagues that there might be a 'minimum of collaboration',²⁰⁹ was adamantly opposed: "Je leur ai dit clairement que les catholiques ne sont pas responsables des divisions scolaires qui originent dans les divisions religieuses."²¹⁰ At the same time his concern about the Catholic teacher's demanding schedule (by November there were thirty-one pupils from kindergarten to Grade IX in the Catholic room) prompted him to obtain relief by pressing the government to pay for the services of a teacher's aide.²¹¹ In the meantime, he was pleased to receive an assurance from Trocellier that the church would be prepared to pay for a second teacher or teacher's aide "pour écarter le danger de 'combinaison,'" if state support was not forthcoming.²¹² In the January 1957 edition of The Catholic Voice, Lesage attempted to counter the persistent advocates of grouping by referring to the duty of "intermediate" officials "to implement...the policy of a dual school system" and that if they disagreed with the

policy "of autonomous and equal separate classrooms for Catholics and Protestants respectively" they should have "the decency and honesty to resign."²¹³ His article prompted a senior official to note in an inter-departmental memorandum: "I had not been aware that there was any particular difficulty at Fort Simpson - other than the perennial one...of having two teachers over-worked because of having to cope with all grades."²¹⁴ A directive to the field followed, stating that if an employee of the department disagreed with some matter of policy "he must carry out this policy and make no statement to anyone else [except his superiors] that he disagrees."²¹⁵

By the spring of 1958, alternate arrangements for teachers' aides notwithstanding, it became obvious that a third teacher was needed, at least for the fall.²¹⁶ B. Sivertz (departmental official), wrote Trocellier in April suggesting that all Catholic children in Grades I to V be assigned to one classroom and all Protestants in the same grades be assigned to another, with all pupils in Grades VI to IX registering in a third "mixed" room:

These interim arrangements...will be in effect until the new combined school is in operation, and will in no way prejudice the establishment of the dual system of education which has been previously agreed upon. 217

According to Lesage, Trocellier rejected Sivertz's proposal, tolerating instead, albeit "tacitly,"²¹⁸ one which Lesage had submitted to the department earlier and implemented in June:

...The distribution of children in the Fort Simpson school for the school year commencing September 2, 1958.... will be...as follows:

Grades 1 and 2	30 children	1 classroom (Mixed)
Grades 2 to 9	27 children	1 classroom (all Catholic)
Grades 3 to 9	27 children	1 classroom (all Protestant) ²¹⁹

Considering his single-mindedness, it is difficult to comprehend why

Lesage submitted such a proposal, but when an attempt was made to integrate all the classes the following October, he responded with characteristic vigour, informing W.G. Booth (departmental inspector of schools) that such a "solution was unacceptable to the right Catholic conscience."²²⁰ Shortly thereafter, a fourth teacher was hired, and a new distribution was made separating all Catholic pupils into two classrooms and all the Protestant pupils into two others.²²¹ This formula, with modifications in grade allocation, was adhered to until the opening of the new school (named after Thomas Simpson) in the fall of 1960.²²² In fact Lesage's zeal was such that he secured what a departmental official described as de facto separation up to and including Grade IX, a grade beyond that agreed to during the J. Lesage-Trocellier negotiations.²²³

The difficulties which Lesage encountered in keeping Catholics separate from their Protestant peers, together with occasional skirmishes with teachers in the Protestant section over matters of discipline and the use of facilities,²²⁴ reinforced his conviction that there should be a minimum of contact between denominations in the new facility. Consequently when he visited Ottawa in May 1957 to see preliminary sketches of the new complex, he was astounded to learn, despite previous assurances that the gymnasium office core would separate the Catholic-Protestant wings, that the gymnasium was located at the end of a single unit classroom block. Lesage's protests led to a meeting on June 12, at which F. J. Cunningham (a departmental director) asked, after outlining the dual classroom policy to several staff officers, who had directed the architect to draw up plans "at variance with government policy." According to Lesage, who was also present, no one answered

Cunningham's query; whereupon, following a lengthy discussion, all agreed to a new set of plans which reflected Lesage's dichotomy.²²⁵

Two days before this meeting, the Liberals were defeated in a general election.²²⁶ However, the change in administration did not affect the Simpson arrangement, although Lesage sought assurances from the commissioner, in February 1958, that the project would not be subject "to political contingencies and controversial ideologies."²²⁷ Shortly thereafter, he was notified that the plan was proceeding according to schedule.²²⁸

The complex opened in the fall of 1960. Thomas Simpson School with its Anglican and Catholic wings was located in the middle of the site, separating the Anglican hostel, Bompas Hall, on the south, and Lapointe Hall, the Catholic hostel, on the north.²²⁹ Bompas Hall was built to house Anglican Indians from the south Mackenzie (a 1957 survey indicated there were 66 eligible candidates);²³⁰ however, the number of Indian applicants was such that the institution never reached capacity enrollment (50) until Anglican Eskimos from as far away as Coronation Gulf and Hudson's Bay were sent to fill its dormitories.²³¹ Lapointe Hall, named after the first Grey Nun superior at Providence, reached its capacity (150) within a year of opening, principally because of the transfer of children from the mission residence at Providence.²³² Behind each hostel were the respective playground areas, kept apart by a service road; denominational separation in front of the hostels and the school was less precise, a situation which evidently caused Lesage some concern.²³³ In the main, however, the operation of the hostel, managed by the Grey Nuns, as well as the organization of the new school, under the guidance of a Catholic principal (who was also

responsible for the Catholic wing) was much as he had envisaged.

On the other hand, Lesage still saw the arrangement, which caused "grief" and "fear" among the mission circle of the lower Mackenzie, as giving "temporary fair justice," compromising as it did the traditional system practiced at Fort Providence. In any event, it was not a "final settlement," the church, anticipating the "chronic resurgence" of demands for, as well as the eventuality of, "one school," had set aside sufficient land for its own school should such an establishment be warranted.²³⁴

The opening of Thomas Simpson in 1960 led, as a departmental press release put it, to the closing of "the last mission residential school,"²³⁵ the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Providence. Day pupils in the community went to the two-classroom federal school, part of a system of day schools located in thirteen predominantly Catholic settlements in the district, excluding those places where special confessional schooling arrangements had been made.²³⁶ Federal day schools were viewed apprehensively, if not suspiciously, by many Catholic missionaries who, although they may not have understood Lesage's hypothesis that they were nothing less than a manifestation of Moore's recommendation "for a network of neutral day schools,"²³⁷ would have agreed with a document (excerpts of which are given below) which reflected the same kind of thinking, tabled at the twenty-first meeting of the Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission (November 1958), entitled "Programme de Laicisation de L'Administration des Affaires du Nord."

Les administrateurs, médecins, éducateurs et travailleurs sociaux dans l'Administration des Affaires du Nord, ayant reçu pour la plupart, leur formation dans les écoles publiques où Dieu n'est qu'un nom et où la religion n'est qu'une affaire privée sont enclins à ne donner aucune considération aux

Ordonnances...qui accordent aux catholiques le droit à leur écoles.

Ils interprètent ces ordonnances à leur manière ou prétendent ignorer la possibilité de leur application. Les officiers supérieurs ne déniaient pas ouvertement du moins, le principe de l'instruction selon les croyances (i.e. classes séparées pour les élèves catholiques et les élèves protestants), mais semblent laisser leur subalternes agir à leurs guise contre nos institutions catholiques.

Dans la plupart des milieux des Territoires de Mackenzie, les enfants catholiques sont en majorité, mais on invoque les inconvénients du déboulement des grades pour distribuer les quelques élèves protestants dans presque chacune des classes et refuser ainsi que ces classes soient considérées comme confessionnelles. Ils proscrireont alors la présence de crucifix et l'usage des livres catholiques. 238

Although it did not seek immunity from such charges, the Department of Northern Affairs, particularly after taking over Indian day schools, attempted, nonetheless, to adhere as closely as possible to its confessional commitments. Indeed the department's purposefulness to achieve a viable educational system within such limits, whatever the problems, probably dismayed the missionaries most, particularly those who saw the waning of church-centred schools as the end of a tradition which had hitherto been an object of much of their zeal. When the department failed to appoint Catholic teachers to classrooms where there was a Catholic majority, it invariably received a reminder or a reprimand from the church.²³⁹ While the church appreciated the difficulties in obtaining suitably qualified Catholic teachers, whether lay or religious, it considered the department to be indifferent to denominational recruitment, especially when it contrasted its lack of effort in this area with its demands for strict adherence to the confessional limitations of the Ordinance and related policies. Unlike the church, the department was not prepared to determine "the sincerity or insincerity" of a person's

religious declaration.²⁴⁰ Insofar as members of religious orders were concerned, this presented no problem to the church, but the evaluation of Catholic lay teachers was another matter. In some cases they were judged to be "veritables apôtres";²⁴¹ many others were seen as lacking "la formation religieuse nécessaire pour leur donner les convictions fermes, sur les principes d'éducation catholique."²⁴² A few were found to be unco-operative or critical of the church's role;²⁴³ while others were subject to the kind of scrutiny found in the March 1957 edition of Echo - Great Slave Lake, the quarterly publication of St. Joseph's School, Resolution:

What about our lay teachers?...Have they their head and shoulders over other persons in the parish or mission.... Do they attend Mass on Sunday - receive Communion - Benediction - What motive led them to a classroom in the North? Salaries - Failure. 244

Whatever the depth of their spiritual commitment, lay teachers were charged with the management of classrooms in which if there were one or more non-Catholic children enrolled, they were to remove all religious symbols, allocate Catholic readers to a supplementary basis,²⁴⁵ and remain, unless special arrangements were made, in their classrooms on holy days of obligation.²⁴⁶ Regardless of the composition of the enrollment, they were to admit the local missionary for religious instruction only during the last half hour of the day.²⁴⁷ It is little wonder, therefore, that many missionaries found such classrooms alien, and yearned, as did the missionary at Fort Franklin in December 1955, for the abandonment of the system of federal schools and a return to the old order of mission day and residential schools:

How easily could all those problems be solved with the help of a single community of Sisters. Three, four or five

Sisters: one or two to teach school, one graduate nurse to care for the sick and another one to prepare the meals and do housework. They would all live together in a modest house without luxury. The Mission would help and there would be co-operation and unity instead of opposition and rivalry as it happens too often.

I wish to point out that an enthusiastic welcome would be given to the Sisters in Fort Franklin. All of us here are Catholics; we all have the same faith and observe the same law. How often have I heard people say they wished they could have Sisters to look after their children's education. 248

Shortly after the missionary's plea had been received by the minister's office, Jean Lesage replied courteously and at length; yet he was unequivocal in pointing out that the system, which "has received the approval of your Bishop," would go forward as planned. 249

Aklavik-Inuvik Schools. In the spring of 1956 there were two major issues affecting Catholic schooling interests in Aklavik. First, the enrollment of twenty-six Anglican Eskimos at Immaculate Conception (the Catholic residence), despite Trocellier's agreement the year before to discontinue this practice, was a continuing source of irritation to the Anglicans. 250 The second issue was the proposed relocation of Aklavik to a new site at East 3, later known as Inuvik. 251 The issues were not unrelated, as the educational proposals of the relocation scheme together with one to build a pupil residence at McPherson, were designed to insure that there would be sufficient places for Anglican as well as Catholic interns in dormitories of their own denomination. 252 However, until such time as sufficient places for Anglican children were made available, Catholic authorities were not prepared to consider transferring the Anglican Eskimos, especially those whose admission to Immaculate Conception had been authorized prior to 1955, unless certain provisions, including parental consent, were met.

In the spring of 1957, there were, in addition to instructional arrangements in both the Anglican and Catholic hospitals, three separate educational establishments in Aklavik: the federal day school (145 pupils), the Catholic day-residential school (159 pupils), and the Anglican day-residential school (114 pupils).²⁵³ By this time, however, it was agreed that once a new combined school, together with Catholic and Anglican hostels, was opened at Inuvik, all church-sponsored schooling arrangements in Aklavik would cease.²⁵⁴ The Anglican enrollment at Immaculate Conception dropped to twelve by March 31, 1958.²⁵⁵ With the opening in September of Fleming Hall (a one - hundred bed pupil residence at McPherson) for Loucheux and other children "of the Protestant Faith,"²⁵⁶ the Indian enrollment at All Saints (the Anglican school in Aklavik) fell from forty-six to ten; but, contrary to previous expectations, the vacancies caused by the exodus were not filled by Immaculate Conception's Anglican pupils; in fact, the former's Anglican registration increased by only five over the previous year.²⁵⁷ Next September, however, with the opening of Sir Alexander Mackenzie "Combined" School in Inuvik (Catholic and Protestant wings), together with two residences, Grollier (Catholic) and Stringer (Anglican), each having a pupil capacity of 250, the assignment of Anglican Eskimos or others of that faith to Grollier Hall (Immaculate Conception's successor) virtually ended.²⁵⁸ Both All Saints and Immaculate Conception closed in June 1959. The Aklavik hospital schools remained open for another year.²⁵⁹ As the remaining Grey Nuns prepared to leave Aklavik following the closing of the hospital in January 1961, one of them wrote the superior general in Montreal:

'La belle et débordante mission d'activites d'Aklavik, est l'oeuvre du

passé."²⁶⁰

With the departure of the sisters, the federal day school became Aklavik's sole educational facility. As its clientele was predominantly Protestant, only non-Catholic teachers, in line with a general policy that teachers would be of the same faith as the majority of the pupils, were assigned to the school, despite the fact that nearly 20 per cent of its enrollment was Roman Catholic.²⁶¹ Having succeeded in obtaining a denominational recruitment policy for Catholic settlements, the church also had to endure a similar policy, with which it had to agree for consistency's sake, for Protestant settlements. This meant that Catholic teachers were not eligible for appointment to such places as McPherson or Norman Wells, or to any of the Eskimo settlements of the western Arctic. As has been indicated previously, exceptions to this procedure occurred when non-Catholic teachers were assigned to Catholic communities because suitably qualified Catholic applicants were unavailable. From the data available (1947-1962),²⁶² Catholic teachers were not assigned except in two or three instances, to Protestant settlements, which meant that Catholic missionaries in such places as Tuktoyaktuk, Coppermine, or Cambridge Bay had no one in the local school to assist in such matters as religious instruction, or other activities commonly assigned to the 'lay apostolate.'²⁶³

During the initial Trocellier-Lesage discussions, it was proposed to build a two-hundred bed Catholic and a three-hundred bed Anglican residence in Inuvik; however, by June 1956, it had been decided that each unit would have a capacity of 250.²⁶⁴ The reason for this change

is not clear, especially when it is noted that the quarterly enrollment at Grollier Hall averaged 175 between September 1954 and December 1962, while Stringer Hall, which was filled immediately, had to turn down applications.²⁶⁵ Empty places at Grollier were not used for several reasons. First, there was an insufficient number of Catholic applicants who qualified in terms of revised hostel admission criteria:

1. Pupils who do not have day or other school facilities readily available to them shall be eligible for admission.
2. Pupils whose parents or legal guardians are absent from the community for at least three months of the school year in order that they earn their livelihood by hunting, fishing, trapping, etc., are classed as not having school facilities readily available to them. 266

Second, the policy which made destituteness the sine qua non of entrance no longer applied. According to a departmental circular, dated March 12, 1959:

Children who do not fall under the normal criteria for admission can only be admitted for welfare reasons at the request of the Superintendent of Child Welfare when a Court Order has been issued placing the child in the care and custody of the Superintendent. 267

Even if Anglican children met the revised, or the special welfare admission requirement, they were, to all intents and purposes, eligible only for admission to Anglican dormitories. Shortly after the opening of the Inuvik residences in 1959, a request to place nineteen children, living in inadequate shelter in Inuvik, in residence was shelved because the department "was not prepared at the moment to make any exceptions in the regulations [residence admission] as they have been laid down."²⁶⁸ As the children in question were Anglican and as Stringer Hall was full,²⁶⁹ any decision by the department to waive the stringent welfare requirement would have resulted in yet another problem, the placing of Anglican children in a Catholic residence, notwithstanding Grollier Hall's

forty-five vacancies.

From the time of the signing of the Breynat Hall agreement, the church became more sophisticated, if not defensive, in its negotiations with the government over the management of pupil residences. For example, when it learned that the Fleming Hall contract differed substantially in its financial provisions from the Breynat agreement, it successfully renegotiated the latter.²⁷⁰ Upon receiving a draft of a proposed agreement for Grollier Hall, an Oblate official, in a letter to the Northern Administration Branch, took exception to several of its clauses. Clause 13, "The Management will not discriminate against any child because of his or her race, religion, or creed or for any reason whatsoever," which the church accepted without comment in the Breynat contract, now seemed "superfluous as far as religion and creed are concerned since all the children will presumably [be] of catholic faith...." As for the implication of "racial discrimination," the Oblate went on: "I am tempted to say this section is downright outrageous to Church authorities. It sounds more like a piece of propaganda [sic] than anything else." The Oblate also found clause 8 as too "negative."

The management will establish a recreational program for the children resident in the hostel and in administering the program will co-operate with the school principal for the purpose of avoiding conflict between recreational activities and school work which might adversely affect the said children. 271

The church would never be satisfied with "lodging, feeding, clothing and recreating children educated - or rather and really schooled, elsewhere." As residences were substitutes "for the educational home background from which the children are being removed on account of the

cultural deviance between the said homes and the schooling offered," it would be better to stipulate the residence administrator would "co-operate with the school principal and the school in general..."²⁷² In the final document clause 13 remained unamended, but clause 8 was revised to read: "In co-operation with the school principal the management will establish and administer a recreational and extra-curricular activity program designed to supplement and support the school program."²⁷³

Although Catholic pupils attended a separate wing up to and including Grade IX at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, they were encouraged by the principal (a non-Catholic because the majority of the children in the combined school were Protestant) to take part in a common extra-curricular programme. In the fall of 1961 the school hosted two social evenings; however, none of the children from Grollier Hall attended. On contacting the administrator of the hostel, the principal learned that the "Roman Catholic Bishops of Canada have an injunction pending against dancing, especially dancing where it involves Roman Catholic institutions...."²⁷⁴ A further inquiry by an educational field officer led to the same response;²⁷⁵ and while the latter reported that clause 8 of the contract was being complied with,²⁷⁶ there is no doubt that instances such as the dancing injunction made it difficult for the school to plan after-school programmes for children from the community and the residences.²⁷⁷ The in-school programme, separated into three areas; Catholic (K-IX), Protestant (K-IX), and high school (X-XII); seemed to work reasonably well,²⁷⁸ although the principal, in an attempt to clarify his role, especially in a lengthy memorandum in June 1961,²⁷⁹ would appear to have assumed greater responsibilities than

that accorded him in the combined school regulations or in such memoranda as the separation of grades (March 1959) and the religious affiliation of teaching staff (March 1961).²⁸⁰ That these memoranda were contradicted by another directive in November 1961²⁸¹ did little to clarify the day-to-day issues resulting from a combined school situation, which the principal and his staff were attempting to resolve. According to a departmental report in February 1962, the principal's reluctance to delegate "certain authorities to the vice-principals, because as an educator he felt that his effectiveness was somewhat limited in so doing" resulted in the church making representations to the department. Shortly thereafter, the department assured the church that the principal "was now well aware of all the implications...of the various policies and agreements."²⁸² As few were prepared to uphold the logic of the latter, the church, which had reluctantly agreed to the combined school arrangement, often found itself in a position of defending as well as maintaining a system which it basically opposed.

Following the building of federal school complexes, the mission schools at Smith, Simpson, Resolution, and Providence were left in the hands of the church to remain as mute and uncompensated reminders of a previous era. However, as part of the Aklavik relocation scheme, the church, whose mission property at Aklavik was valued at \$501,381.,²⁸³ subsequently received approximately \$400,000.²⁸⁴ in compensation from the federal government for abandoning its school and hospital facilities. The initial relocation proposal (1953) contemplated the moving of privately-owned buildings at government expense to the East 3 site; however, by 1954, after it had been determined that such a move would

have been uneconomic, either because of the age or condition of the buildings, a compensation plan was decided upon.²⁸⁵ It is not known when the church learned of this; but it could be assumed that it became aware of the government's intentions during the Lesage-Trocellier discussions early in 1955.

In February 1959 when many missionaries were condemning what they thought to be the pyrrhic outcome of the Lesage plan, the Oblate provincial issued a circular from Aklavik outlining the church's plans to build an "école presbytérale" at Fort Smith to be named "Foyer Grandin" for young boys wishing to enter the religious life. Although the project was initiated on the understanding, not unlike that held by Grandin at Providence about a hundred years earlier, that the Congregation could not "compter sur l'aide du Gouvernement,"²⁸⁶ Foyer Grandin, which Father Lesage described as representing "a new system of Catholic education,"²⁸⁷ eventually received government subsidies.²⁸⁸ Instead of being a minor seminary, Grandin became a residence for selected native students whose Christian formation, in the church's opinion, would be overlooked, if not neglected, in institutions controlled by a secular-oriented officialdom.²⁸⁹ While the Aklavik indemnity had no direct bearing on the Grandin enterprise,²⁹⁰ the compensation payment probably helped the church to support two other educational ventures which were subsequently promoted as a possible, if not the only, alternative to the former system of mission schooling: a Catholic high school in Yellowknife in 1960, and a Catholic separate school in Hay River a year later.

Despite such ventures the church continued to lament the passing of its mission schools, assigning from time to time, their denouement

and the characteristics of the resulting system to a variety of extrinsic and often hostile causes. Although examples of such thinking have already been given, perhaps another reference would suffice to demonstrate its persistence. Before citing this, however, certain administrative changes in the Department's Education Division from 1958 to 1960 should be reviewed. In January 1958, Dr. W. Westwater, a former inspector of schools in Ottawa, was appointed as "a senior consultant on education" and also to act as superintendent of schools in the Mackenzie.²⁹¹ Westwater visited many schools in the district, recording his impressions, and providing J. V. Jacobson, and other senior officials with reports and recommendations. In August 1958, W. G. Booth, a permanent appointee, replaced Westwater²⁹² who returned to Ottawa to write a comprehensive report and to continue as an advisor to the department. Certain observations and recommendations in what became known as the 'Westwater Report' were evidently quite controversial; so much so that the document is still regarded as highly confidential.²⁹³ In late 1959, J. V. Jacobson was replaced by W. G. Booth²⁹⁴ who carried out the latter's duties in an acting capacity until Mr. B. Thorsteinsson, a former superintendent of schools from British Columbia, was appointed as chief of the Education Division in August 1960.²⁹⁵

Several months after Thorsteinsson's appointment, R. A. J. Phillips (assistant director, Northern Administration) published a two-part series on northern education, entitled "The Opening Door," in North (a departmental publication). The only substantive reference to the church in the articles was to a "special relationship" which the department and its northern teachers had with the church. In brief, teachers did not need to "feel the pressure of providing religious

instruction" because it had been placed "in the hands of those [the missionaries] most able to give it." According to Phillips, "the active," but by implication, the sole "role of the church" left "the teacher free to use his time on a curriculum heavily burdened by...two cultures and possibly two languages."²⁹⁶ Needless to say, Oblates, whose educational canons were those of Pius XI, were exasperated by this kind of thinking. In June 1961, Father A. Renaud (director general of the Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission), in a speech before a convention of French-language Catholic school commissioners, stated that the top administrators in the territories were "secular Protestants" who were "sometimes openly anti-Catholic." His most acerbic criticism was reserved for the department's educational officials: "Thanks to the virtual elimination of Catholics from top posts, the education section of the northern affairs department is a veritable Orangemen's paradise."²⁹⁷ There is little doubt that Renaud's remarks, subsequently quoted in North,²⁹⁸ reflected the despair of many missionaries, who having seen the mission system exchanged for restrictive school and residence arrangements, were convinced that their remaining interests would be usurped by those who aspired to remove any semblance of Catholicity from the federal system.

1. J. Lesage, "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories," (press release), March 28, 1955, AVM. Cited hereinafter as Lesage Plan (1955).
2. SOE, October 16-November 27, 1947, passim.
3. Ibid., October 20, 1947, 2-3.
4. Ibid., November 6, 1947, 1-2. "Mr. Hoey pointed out that the recommendations submitted by Dr. Moore should be regarded as ultimate objectives for education in the Mackenzie District." ibid., 2.
5. For a review of Indian Affairs school grants, vide supra, 193.
6. For a review of Territorial school subsidies, vide supra, 235.
7. SOE, October 20, 1947, 2.
8. Vide supra, n.168, 418. The desks were supplied on the understanding that "The action taken in this case is not to be considered as a precedent for the whole question of support to denominational schools will be the subject of review...." Gibson to A. H. Gibson (acting superintendent of Wood Buffalo Park), August 5, 1946, 630/100-3, 22 PAC.
9. Trocellier to Indian Affairs Branch, July 18, 1950, extract in 6-1-916, IAO.
10. Plourde to Hoey, May 11, 1945, 25-2-919, IAO. Hoey replied in July that no increase was possible. Hoey to Plourde, July 20, 1945, ibid.
11. Plourde to Gibson, May 14, 1947, 630/110-3, I-B, 222, PAC. Gibson to Cumming, May 14, 1947, ibid.
12. Minutes, May 23, 1947, XIV, 3340.
13. Gibson to L. R. Sherman (Anglican archdeacon) February 21, 1950, 630/111-1, 224, PAC.
14. McKinnon to Gibson, February 27, 1950, 25-1, IAO.
15. Director to Sinclair, April 6, 1951, TAU.
16. Haramburu to Neary, May 16, 1950, 1-3-916, IAO.
17. Cheque indicating new rate, May 31, 1952, TAU.
18. Phelan to Trocellier, April 9, 1952, 6-1-916, IAO. Invoice "Nightwatchman Payment," December 30, 1949, 142-1-13-919. Jacobson to Director, March 25, 1955, 600-4, II.

19. Vide Cunningham to Devitt, March 16, 1962, TAU.
20. Laviolette to Cunningham, January 25, 1955, ibid.
21. "Assistance to Mission Schools," 600-4, II, n.d., RCO.
The document's content indicates that it was prepared in 1953.
22. Gibson to Trocellier, February 8, 1946, 630/100-1, 220 PAC.
23. Minutes, January 14, 1947, quoted in ibid.
24. Meikle to Sinclair, August 11, 1947, 630/100-3, 220 PAC.
"Sister _____ at the Fort Smith School has no certificate but has fifteen years teaching experience and the results are considered to be quite satisfactory." ibid.
25. Neary to Father Gilles (bursar-Vicariate of the Mackenzie), March 15, 1948, ibid. Vide Inspector's Reports, Roman Catholic Indian School, Fort Smith, May 23-28, 1952, Ecoles, AVM.
26. Memorandum for Director, October 8, 1954, 600-4, II, RCO.
27. "Assistance to Mission Schools," n.d., ibid.
28. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Special Committee on Bill No. 79, No. 2, March 2, 1948, 43.
29. Young to Gilles, August 29, 1952, Grant-pour les Ecoles, AVM.
30. Although Young's statement did not indicate grades, he may have had in mind Jacobson's suggestion that "the territorial day school accept the responsibility for the education of Grades X to XII including 11 pupils from the Roman Catholic day school which would bring the estimated enrollment in the senior high school to 16 pupils." quoted in _____ (departmental official) to Young, April 21, 1952, 630/101-1, 221 PAC. In January 1954, six pupils were enrolled in Grades X and XI at the Catholic School. Inspector's Reports, Roman Catholic Mission Day Indian School, January 12, 1954, II, AVM.
31. _____ (Fort Smith) to Director, September 10, 1954, 600-4, II, NANR.
32. _____ (Ottawa) to Director, September 16, 1954, ibid.
33. Memorandum for Deputy Minister (Ottawa) September 20, 1954, ibid.
34. _____ to _____ (Ottawa), October 18, 1954, ibid.
35. Insert in Minutes, March 31, 1948. Registers, Fort Simpson Roman Catholic Day School, 1945-1955, passim; Classification of

Pupils in Schools of the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories, March 31, 1951-1955, TAU.

36. Young to Gilles, August 29, 1952, Grant pour les Ecoles, AVM.
37. C. H. Le Capelain to Young, November 12, 1952, 630/111-1, II, NANR.
38. "Assistance to Mission Schools," 600-4, II, 1953, RCO.
39. J. Goodall (president, Fort Simpson Home and School Association and Member of Council), to F. Cunningham (director, November 16, 1954) 630/111-3, NANR. The Association passed the resolution quoted by 26 to 1, ibid.
40. Lesage to Goodall, January 1, 1955, quoted in "The Catholic Voice" (Sacred Heart Mission, Fort Simpson), June 5, 1955.
41. Petition to R. G. Robertson (commissioner of the Northwest Territories), January 1, 1955, LP.
42. Vide Robertson to Lesage, December 15, 1954, 630/111-3, NANR, and Lesage to J. Pingerskill [sic] (minister of Citizenship and Immigration), August 15, 1954, LP.
43. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1955 (Mackenzie District, N.W.T.), TAU.
44. Vide supra, 400.
45. Lesage, Sacred Heart Mission, 1858-1958, 122.
46. Vide Inspector's Report, Roman Catholic Indian Day School, Fort Smith, 1952, 14, AVM.
47. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1955, TAU.
48. References to the deliberations of the Catholic parent's group in Simpson, known as the "Advisory School Board," are found in Lesage and in the Catholic Voice (Fort Simpson Parish Bulletin), 1949-1953, I, passim. For references to the Catholic-Parent Teacher Association in Smith, and to the Mackenzie Catholic Education Group (formed by Lesage in 1951), vide LP, passim.
49. Father Kindervater (member of the Alberta Bishops' Committee on Education) to Lesage, July 22, 1949, ibid. Kindervater's warning was directed primarily to the formation of separate school districts.
50. Vide Inspector's Reports, Aklavik, Providence, Resolution, 1952 and 1953, passim, AVM. In one instance, a sister in charge of a class had neither teaching experience nor a certificate. The matter of appropriate certification for Indian schools is subject

to debate; however, it should be noted that the Indian Branch did not require the residential schools to adhere to the teacher certification clause of the 1910 agreement (vide supra, 332). As they received no salary, their credentials were simply noted when and if they were received. Neary to Kristoff (principal, Providence), October 18, 1950, 1-3-98, IAO.

51. Application for Admission to Residential School, N.W.T. - Form 77 (R. 1927). The form was in use in 1955, vide September 2, 1955, 630/119-3, IX, NANR.
52. Gibson to McKinnon, October 31, 1949, 630/110-3, II, NANR; Cunningham to Hunt, November 14, 1955, III, ibid. The procedure was cumbersome and led to delays in payment. Ibid.
53. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1955, TAU.
54. Young to Cunningham, July 25, 1952, 600-4-I, RCO.
55. Trocellier quoted in Sinclair to Deputy Minister, May 20 and 30, 1952, 620/101-1, 221, PAC.
56. _____ (Fort Smith) to Director, August 30, 1954, 630/101-1, NANR (F.S.). "Father Haramburu has quoted from the Canon Law of the church in which it is expressly forbidden for any Catholic to attend a school other than a denominational one."
57. Vide infra, 553.
58. Application for Admission Form, I-A 406, 25-9-919, IAO. The form, which was to be signed by a missionary or other witness, as well as the Indian Agent, was revised in 1954, 25-2-298, IAO. The territorial and the Indian application were to be signed by a doctor, but the latter was not signed by the Inspector of Schools. Phelan to Hunter, January 24, 1952, 25-2-915, ibid. Exceptions to admissions of pupils over the age of 16 were made in special circumstances. Ostrander to Battle, November 12, 1954, 25-8, ibid.
59. With the increasing number of day schools, applications were scrutinized as to length of residence; for example, if the child's parents were resident for "at least seventy per cent of the school year," at Fort Liard, their children's applications for residential school were not to be approved. _____ (departmental official) to _____ (school inspector), August 16, 1955, 630/110-S, V, NANR.
60. Vide Waller to Phelan, August 29, 1953, 25-1-916, IAO.
61. Vide Table XI, 432.

62. Davey to Cottrell, October 2, 1953, 25-2-918, IAO.
63. Cottrell to Davey, October 7, 1953, ibid.
64. Davey to Cottrell, December 30, 1953, ibid.
65. Vide ibid., February 22, 1954, August 31, 1954, December 16, 1954.
66. Vide supra, 390.
67. Appendices of the Journal of the First Synod of the Diocese of the Arctic, April 9-23, 1961, no. 25, AACHT.
68. L. Hunt (district administrator) to Director, October 5, 1952, 630/119-2, III, 226, PAC.
69. _____ to Commissioner, April 12, 1952, ibid.
70. _____ to Commissioner, October 29, 1952, 630/119-2, III A, 226, PAC.
71. Commissioner to _____, November, 1952, ibid.
72. Deputy Minister commenting on Acting Director's memorandum, February 4, 1955, 630/119-3, IX, NANR.
73. Cunningham to Bishop D. Marsh, (Anglican Diocese of the Arctic) February 27, 1956, ibid.
74. J. W. Burton to L. Hunt, December 17, 1955, ibid.
75. Vide Cunningham to Marsh, February 27, 1956, ibid.
76. ARDRD, 1950, 80. 38 pupils registered at the Coppermine school during its first year of operation. "Education of Eskimos (1949-1957)." Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Education Division, TAU. Cited hereinafter as Eskimo Education (1949-1957).
77. R. H. Winters (minister of Resources and Development) to Bishop M. Lacroix (vicar apostolic of Hudson's Bay), July 3, 1950, ibid. Draft of agreement between Commissioner and Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Hudson's Bay, legal advisor's copy, October 12, 1950, ibid. Cited hereinafter as Chesterfield Agreement.
78. "A general meeting of representatives of organizations and departments interested in Eskimo and Arctic affairs was held in Ottawa on May 19 and 20, 1952....As a result of this conference, a committee was formed to continue the study of the problems involved, and a sub-committee was appointed to deal exclusively with education." ARDRD, 1953, 83. Following discussions with

Canon Webster (Anglican missionary at Coppermine), McKinnon recommended that a hostel be built at Coppermine. McKinnon to Gibson, January 23, 1950, 630/120-1, II, 324, PAC. The territorial Council approved the establishment of a tent hostel on February 15, 1951, Minutes, XX, 3890. The hostel at Chesterfield was sanctioned in 1950. Chesterfield Agreement.

79. Minutes, Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, April 15, 1955, 2-3, 630/145-2, IV, NANR, Ottawa.
80. Commissioner to Bishop D. Marsh, March 8, 1955, ibid, _____ (Anglican missionary) to Marsh, March 31, 1955, ibid., and _____ (Anglican missionary) to Marsh, April 20, 1955, ibid.
81. Grantham (departmental officer) to Wright (departmental officer), October 2, 1952, 630/316-6 I (Parc Savard, Que.), NANR, Ottawa, Marsh to Director, August 17, 1953, ibid. The administration admitted that it had no policy as to the religious affiliation of teachers in hospitals. LeCapelain to Marsh, August 20, 1953, ibid.
82. _____ (departmental officer) to Deputy Minister, 630/145-2, June 17, 1955, NANR, Ottawa.
83. Nothing came of Catholic attempts to establish a hospital or pupil residence at Coppermine. Vide Doyle (departmental officer) to Meikle (departmental officer), October 1, 1947, 630/145-1, I, 228 PAC: and Sinclair (departmental officer) to Deputy Minister, May 20, 1952, 620/101-1, 221, PAC.
84. The administration was opposed to subsidizing Catholic or Anglican Eskimos who had been sent to the Catholic residences at Providence and Resolution. _____ (departmental school inspector) to Director, July 19, 1954, 630/119-3, 372, PAC; Director to Sister Boulet (principal Fort Resolution), December 19, 1955, 630/101-3, VII, NANR, Ottawa. It also refused to pay boarding allowances for children whose parents were permanent residents of Coppermine. _____ (departmental officer) to Director, February 3, 1954, 630/145-2, IV, NANR, Ottawa.
85. Father Adam (Catholic missionary, Coppermine) to Father Lesage 12-3, 1953, LP; Lesage to Father G. Laviolette (secretary general Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission), April 16, 1953, ibid; Laviolette to Lesage, April 23, 1953, ibid.
86. _____ (departmental officer) to Deputy Minister, June 21, 1955, 630/145-2, IV, NANR, Ottawa.
87. _____ (departmental officer) to Director, November 24, 1955, ibid.

88. _____ (departmental officer) to Director,
December 9, 1955, ibid.
89. Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, c.75, c.105, c.106
(1907); Ordinances (1905-1930); Northwest Territories Orders
and Regulations, III-73.
90. Privy Council, Canada, P.C. 2993, July 18, 1946, TAU.
91. Revised Statutes of Canada, c.142, s.12 (1927) [investigator's
italics].
92. Amendments, August 13, 1946, Library of Parliament, Ottawa,
KA 1205, 1946.
93. Ordinances, c. 13, c. 14, c. 24 (1948).
94. "Memorandum Regarding Statutory Authority to Make Ordinances
in Education in the Northwest Territories," SOE, January
1949 (?) District Education Office, Fort Smith, N.W.T., NANR.
95. Vide infra, 512.
96. Ordinances, s.18, s.98, s.99, s.100, (1952).
97. Ibid., s.3.
98. Ibid., passim.
99. Ordinances, (First Session), c.45, (Second Session) c.12 (1953).
100. "Regulations Governing Schools in the Northwest Territories",
January 27, 1953, Northwest Territories Orders and Regulations
III - 73.
101. "Regulations", October 31, 1953, Ibid.
102. Ordinances, c.115, c.18 (1952).
103. Ordinances, (First Session), c.9 (1955). For a discussion of
this contract, vide supra, 389.
104. Privy Council, Canada, P.C. 3153, June 29, 1950, TAU.
105. Lesage Plan (1955), 1-3, the Minister's announcement was
elaborated further in J. V. Jacobson's 'New Educational
Programme for the Northwest Territories; Northern Affairs
Bulletin, (February-March, 1956), III, 3, 11-14.
106. "Education in the Northwest Territories," January 21, 1955,
1-10, Education Office, Fort Smith, NANR, 1-10; a copy of the
same document was seen in the Territorial Archives (Ottawa)
dated December 21, 1954, TAU. Cited hereinafter as Working
Paper (1955).

107. Ibid., 6.
108. _____ (departmental officer) to Director, September 9, 1954, 630 /101-1, Fort Smith, NANR.
109. Working Paper (1955), passim. "Question scolaire des Territoires du Nord-Ouest Ecole de Fort Smith" (Excerpts from Ministerial - Oblate correspondence, January 20 to December 1, 1955), compiled by S. Lesage, 1-3, LP. Cited hereinafter as Question Scolaire (1955). "Résumé des accords entre le Ministre Lesage et Son Exc. Mgr. Trocellier au sujet de l'école du Fort Smith" (Excerpts from Ministerial - Oblate correspondence March 28 to December 1, 1955) compiled by S. Lesage, 1-4, LP. Cited hereinafter as Résumé des Accords (1955).
110. Lesage to Trocellier, March 28, 1955, ibid., 1.
111. Trocellier to Lesage, April 22, 1955, ibid., 1.
112. Lesage to Trocellier, May 6, 1955, ibid., 2.
113. Vide July 1955 exchange of letters: Robertson, Minsos (architects), Trocellier, and Hunt (district administrator), 630/100-14, passim. Fort Smith, NANR, passim.
114. _____ (senior departmental official) to Minister, August 24, 1955, TAU.
115. Lesage to Trocellier, October 20, 1955, Résumé des Accords (1955), 2.
116. Trocellier to Lesage, November 3, 1955, ibid., 2.
117. Lesage to Trocellier, December 1, 1955, ibid., 3.
118. Vide Minutes and Newsletters of Catholic Parent-Teacher Association (Fort Smith Roman Catholic Day School), October 8, October 30, and November 30, 1956; January 3, January 28, February 27, March 27, May 1, May 15, and May 31, 1957, AVM. Cited hereinafter as Minutes (CPTA).
119. Ibid., October 8, 1956, 2.
120. Sarrasin to Father F. Ebner (chaplain of the MCEA), November 9, 1957, Ebner Papers. Later that year Sarrasin wrote one of her colleagues as follows: "Our silence and inaction during the ending school year have...signified the disappearance of our Catholic organizations, namely the MCEA and CPTA - In fact the afore-said organizations only remain part of the past history of Fort Smith." Same to Catholic teacher, May 20, 1958, Catholic Teachers' Association, AVM.
121. S. Lesage, "Constitution of the Catholic Education Association of the Northwest Territories," October, 1951, 1-2, LP.

122. The Northwest Territories Teachers' Association was founded at the first teachers' convention held in the N.W.T. in Yellowknife in August 1953. Sister Sarrasin was elected the Association's first secretary. N. L. McCowan "The President's Column," N.W.T.T.A. Review, (1964), V, no. 1, 7. It is interesting to note that the convention realized another of Moore's recommendations, vide supra, 338.
123. Vide outline of MCEA activities from August 1955 to September 1956 in the Association's 'Newsletter' September 10, 1956, I, AVM.
124. 'Newsletter', MCEA, December 14, 1955; January 14, February 7, February 20, March 17, April 30, May 21, June 18, September 10, October 15, November 12, December 31, 1956; and January 28, March 9, May 27, and June 14, 1957. "Bulletins" Alberta Catholic Education Association, (1956-1957), passim. AVM.
125. Sarrasin to Ebner, November 9, 1957, EP.
126. Working Paper (1955), 9.
127. Robertson to Trocellier, April 10, 1956, 610-1, Fort Smith, NANR. The transfer involved teachers at the following Catholic schools: Aklavik, Fort Resolution, Fort Providence, and Fort Smith. The teaching position at the Catholic Day School in Simpson had nominally been under the jurisdiction of the Indian Affairs Branch from the fall of 1953 (R. Davey [acting superintendent of education] to Trocellier, October 5, 1953), AVM), and as such was automatically assigned to the Department of Northern Affairs on April 1, 1955.
128. Ibid.
129. Cunningham (director) to Hunt (District administrator) April 18, 1956; "Agreement to Serve in Northern Canada" (Form NANR 10-22 [3-56] , 610-1, Fort Smith, NANR.
130. _____ (departmental official), to Director, June 4, 1956, ibid.
131. _____ (departmental official) to Mother Provincial, June 7, 1956, ibid.
132. _____ (departmental official), to Minister, April 1, 1957 (copy), AVM.
133. "Agreement between Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada and the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Mackenzie" (draft), April 1, 1957, 1-6, AVM. Cited hereinafter as Breynat Contract.
134. "Historic Names for Northern Schools and Residences" (Press Release), March 2, 1961, (Canada, Department of Northern

Affairs and National Resources), 5.

135. The policy, *Résumé des Accords* (1955), was reaffirmed in B. G. Sivertz (director) to District Administrator, December 4, 1957, 630/100-1, II, Fort Smith, NANR.
136. J. Cairns, (acting superintendent of schools) to E. J. McCart, (principal, Fort Resolution), November 29, 1957, 630/101-3, Fort Smith, NANR.
137. J. Jacobson to Rev. P. Piché (general superintendent, Oblate Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission), July 10, 1958, AVM.
138. Breynat Contract, 3, 6.
139. Vide "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Hostels Owned by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Operated Under Contract," January 1, 1960, (Ottawa: Northern Administration Branch, NANR), 1-16.
140. _____ (Oblate priest) to Trocellier, November 8, 1957, 630/100-9, Fort Smith NANR. Trocellier believed that the capacity of Breynat Hall should have been 160 rather than 200. Father V. Philippe to District Administrator July 27, 1957. 630/100-1, II.
141. Cunningham to Sivertz, November 15, 1957, ibid.
142. Renaud to Sivertz, June 30, 1959, 630/100-9, III, Fort Smith, NANR.
143. Father V. Philippe, (administrator, Breynat Hall) to Jacobson, August 18, 1958, 630/100-9, Fort Smith, NANR. For other expressions of this kind, vide infra, n.177 and n.238.
144. For a comprehensive review of the procedures envisaged and the discussions concerning them, vide Robertson to Trocellier, June 12, 1957, and Trocellier to Robertson, June 19, 1957, AVM.
145. Trocellier to _____ (Oblate Indian Eskimo Welfare Commission) November 18, 1957, AVM.
146. _____ to Father _____, December 3, 1957, AVM.
147. Father _____ to C. Merrill (district administrator), December 9, 1957, 630/100-1, NANR, Fort Smith.
148. Winter to Jacobson, June 13, 1957, ibid.
149. Same to same, July 3, 1957, ibid.
150. Same to same, July 12, 1957, ibid.

151. Jacobson to Winter, July 15, 1957, ibid.
152. "School Inspector Resigns Over Issue," News of the North, July 18, 1957.
153. "Directory of Schools and Teachers, Mackenzie District N.W.T., 1957-1958" Fort Smith Federal School File, 1-3 (mimeographed). On April 30, 1957, Trocellier wrote Robertson to state that he would not accept any Protestant teachers, naming specifically two that were on staff; however, he agreed to let one of them remain in a telegram to Robertson on June 10, 1957, AVM.
154. G. O. Lavoie, "Fort Smith School Proposal Defended after Attacks": E. R. Horton "That vexing School Problem," (editorial), News of the North, August 1, 1957.
155. Vide copy of letter from R. M. Koch (member of Smith CPTA and MCEA Chapter) to D. Harkness (minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources), August 2, 1957, in The Bulletin (St. Joseph's Cathedral Parish), V, 31, August 4, 1957, 2-3.
156. Statement by H. Mann (a former resident of Fort Smith who attended the public meeting addressed by Robertson), personal interview (Yellowknife), January 15, 1970.
157. For Sarrasin's view of the combined school arrangement, vide supra, 450.
158. "Brief Statement of Arrangements for Organizing and Administering the Federal School at Fort Smith" (Ottawa), November 28, 1957, Fort Smith Federal School, F-22, Fort Smith, N.W.T. At least one other statement on this subject (not seen by investigator) apparently different in form but essentially the same in content, was in circulation. Differences between the résumé and the final policy directive governing the operation of the Fort Smith are noted in Appendix H.
159. _____ (Oblate official, Ottawa) to Commissioner, November 25, 1957, AVM. Prior to leaving for Europe, Trocellier asked his colleague to state his point of view to the government: "si ces redressements sont refusés par les fonctionnaires du Gouvernement, veuillez m'en informer aussitôt afin que je puisse porter ma cause devant le Conférence Catholique de l'Episcopat Canadien et, si nécessaire, devant le public." Trocellier to _____ (Oblate official, Ottawa), November 18, 1957, AVM.
160. _____ (departmental officer, Ottawa) to Trocellier, December 16, 1957, AVM. The Oblate official who had represented Trocellier was advised similarly on the same day. _____ (departmental officer, Ottawa) to _____ (Oblate official, Ottawa), December 16, 1957, AVM.

161. _____ (departmental officer, Ottawa) to District Administrator (Fort Smith), December 18, 1957, 630/100-9, NANR, PAC.
162. Vide supra, n.159.
163. "New School, Hostel Opened at Fort Smith," Edmonton Journal, January 8 (?), 1958. "The 21 welfare teachers who provide the staff of the new school will be carrying on from the point where the missionaries of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches left off, the commissioner [Robertson] said." Ibid.
164. _____ (field officer) to Director, August 30, 1954, 630/101-1, NANR, Fort Smith. It will be recalled (vide supra, 402) that following the opening of the territorial (federal) day school at Resolution, that some Catholic residents of the settlement expressed concern about its neutral character. In 1954 the pastor at Resolution opposed the transfer of some day pupils from the mission school to the federal day school, although this arrangement was apparently sanctioned by Bishop Trocellier. Ibid.
165. _____ (departmental official, Ottawa) to District office (Fort Smith), November 2, 1959, 630/101-3, ibid. The request was apparently made because of lack of places at Breynat Hall, ibid.
166. Vide memoranda July 21, 1959, November 4, 1959, and October 26, 1960, 630/100-1, I, ibid.
167. _____ (district officer) to Director, October 26, 1960, ibid.
168. _____ (senior departmental officer) to _____ (departmental staff officer) December 21, 1959, 630/100-1, NANR, PAC.
169. Same to same, April 11, 1960, ibid.
170. Vide supra, n.158.
171. Kroetch, 69.
172. Supplement du Courrier de Famille, December 12, 1958, 2-4, AVM.
173. Lesage, 123.
174. In a letter to Monseigneur G. Panico (apostolic delegate to Canada), dated June 14, 1955, Father Lesage noted that the Minister was his "cousin germain." LP.

175. Lesage, 123.
176. Ibid., the substance of the proposal and its acknowledgement is referred to in Robertson to Lesage, April 7, 1955, LP.
177. Lesage to J. Pingenskill [sic] (minister of Citizenship and Immigration), August 15, 1954, ibid.
178. Laviolette to Lesage, December 20, 1954, ibid.
179. Vide infra, 522.
180. Lesage to Laviolette, December 20, 1954, LP.
181. Same to Hardie, January 1, 1955, ibid. For a reference to J. Lesage's remarks vide supra, 383.
182. Résumé des Accords (1955), 3.
183. Trocellier to Lesage, January 1, 1955; Laviolette to same, February 16, 1955, LP.
184. _____ (departmental officer) to Lesage, April 7, 1955, ibid.
185. Lesage and R. Bullock (chairman, Simpson Catholic Advisory School Board) to Robertson, April 15, 1955, ibid.
186. Laviolette to Lesage, April 25, 1955, ibid. It should be noted that Laviolette's hope for school transfer after Grade 6 were rather sanguine as there is no evidence that the government contemplated this happening. It is more likely that any such transfers were seen as being directed towards the proposed central high school in Yellowknife. Trocellier had hinted this earlier in stating that the Simpson students would attend senior high grades at Smith or "elsewhere." Trocellier to Lesage, January 31, 1955, ibid.
187. Robertson to Lesage, May 9, 1955, May 30, 1955, ibid.
188. Trocellier to Lesage, May 7, 1955, ibid.
189. Lesage to Laviolette, May 24, 1955, ibid.
190. Lesage to Robertston, May 30, 1955, ibid.
191. _____ (departmental officer) to _____ (departmental officer,) June 8, 1955, 630/111-3, III, NANR, Ottawa.
192. The Catholic Voice (May 1955), No. 31, 5, excerpt in ibid.
193. The Catholic Voice (June 5, 1955), No. Special, passim, ibid.

194. Mgr. G. Panico (delegatio apostolica) to Lesage, July 3, 1955, ibid.; L. Deschatelets (superior generalis, Roma), to Lesage, August 17, 1955, ibid.
195. F. Sibbeston to Laviolette, June 30, 1955, ibid.
196. _____ (departmental officer) to _____ (departmental officer), July 18, 1955, 630/111-3, III, NANR, Ottawa.
197. The Catholic Voice (October, 1955), No. 36, excerpt in ibid.
198. The Catholic Voice (December, 1955), 2, excerpt in ibid.
199. _____ (secretary-treasurer, Fort Simpson Home and School Association) to Commissioner, October 5, 1955, ibid.
200. Commissioner to Secretary-Treasurer, October 24, 1955, ibid. A draft prepared on October 18, which suggested that a grade combination for an interim period might be arranged was not sent. Ibid.
201. Lesage to Trocellier, January 10, 1956, ibid.
202. The Catholic Voice (January, 1956), 7, excerpt in 630/111-3, NANR, Ottawa.
203. The minutes of the territorial Council from its first (December 10-13, 1951) to twentieth (June 16-24, 1961) session are essentially summaries containing only occasional references to remarks made by Councillors. "Votes and Proceedings" Council of the Northwest Territories, December 10, 1951 to June 24, 1961, passim. In many cases, newspaper reports provide the best accounts of debate; vide references to J. Parker and others in The Edmonton Journal, January 18, 1955, The Winnipeg Tribune, January 21, 1956, and The Edmonton Journal, January 21, 1956.
204. For Father Lesage's account of the affair, vide Lesage, 128. For a slightly different version by one of his colleagues vide infra, n.205.
205. _____ (senior Oblate official) to Trocellier, January 28, 1956, Ecoles Séparées, AVM.
206. Lesage to Investigator (personal interview), July ?, 1966.
207. One, if not the first request for a teacher-aide for "the overburdened teacher of the Catholic classroom," was submitted by Lesage on behalf of the Parent Teacher Association on November 8, 1955, to J. Jacobson, (superintendent of education), LP. After hiring a teacher-aide early in 1956, Lesage failed

to secure a government subsidy for what one official termed this "fait accompli". _____ (departmental officer) to _____ (acting director), March 7, 1956, 630/111-3, IV, NANR, Ottawa. Undismayed, Lesage advised the government that the Catholic P.T.A. would continue to pay for the services of the aide "until such time as your Department deems it feasible to pay for his services." Lesage to _____ (departmental officer), March 20, 1956, ibid.

208. Discussions as to the location of the complex began in August 1955; general agreement as to the site, but not to the purchase of the property, had been reached by February 1956, Lesage to R. J. Cunningham (director), February 6, 1956, LP.
209. Lesage to _____ (official, Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission), September 10, 1956, (translation), LP.
210. Lesage to Trocellier, October 1, 1956, ibid.
211. S. Lesage to J. Lesage, November 14, 1956, ibid. The departmental officers were reluctant to accede to S. Lesage's request, because it would lead to requests for similar assistance from other schools. Vide memoranda, December 21, and 28, 1956, 630/111-3, IV, NANR, Ottawa.
212. Lesage to Trocellier, November 6, 1956, LP.
213. The Catholic Voice (January, 1957), No. 46, 3, quoted in 630/111-3, IV, NANR, Ottawa.
214. _____ (senior departmental officer) to _____ (senior administrative officer), January 31, 1957, ibid.
215. _____ (senior administrative officer) to district administrator, Fort Smith, February 15, 1957. Ibid.
216. The distribution of pupils in March 1957 was 28 Protestant and 39 Roman Catholic. "Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1957," TAU. Teacher aides were appointed to both classrooms during 1957-1958 (Lesage, 129), when the enrollment was 30 Protestant and 35 Roman Catholic. The enrollment projection for September 1958 was 101. "Classification of Pupils as of March 31st, 1958," TAU. One method of reducing the Catholic enrollment was to send Catholic pupils to Providence; however, if the children were resident of the settlement they were not eligible for hostel admission. For a discussion on this point, vide Chief B. Cazon (chief Fort Simpson) to J. Pickersgill (minister of Immigration and Citizenship), August 3, 1956, Fort Simpson, AVM.

217. Sivertz to Trocellier, April 21, 1958, excerpt quoted in Lesage, 146.
218. S. Lesage, "School Arrangements at the Fort Simpson F.D. School, 1955-1958," January 24, 1959, (resumé of correspondence), LP.
219. Lesage gives the date of the letter outlining the schedule which was signed by F. Cunningham (director) for R. G. Robertson to S. Lesage, as June 10 (Lesage, 129), although another copy of the letter in the Lesage Papers is dated July 3, 1958.
220. Lesage 134.
221. Booth to Lesage, October 11, 1958, quoted in Lesage, 146.
222. During the 1959-1960 school year, for example, the grade and religious distribution was as follows:
- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Catholic teacher | 23 Catholic pupils | Grades 1 to 3. |
| Protestant " | 17 Protestant " | Grades 1 to 3. |
| Catholic " | 17 Catholic " | Grades 3 to 6. |
| Protestant " | 3 Catholic " | |
| | 10 Protestant " | Grades 4 to 7. |
- Inspector's Report on Fort Simpson, December 18, 1959, 630/111-1, VI, NANR, Ottawa.
223. For a comprehensive review of grade limitations arising from the Lesage-Trocellier discussions and subsequent interpretations vide _____ to Sivertz, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik, N.W.T., Inuvik Regional Office, NANR.
224. For an account of discipline problems arising out of the dual arrangement, vide _____ (senior departmental officer) to Trocellier, October 30, 1957, Ecoles, AVM; and Lesage, 129-130. Separate toilet and playground facilities also became an issue, for example, vide News of the North, August 1, 1957; and Lesage 131.
225. Ibid., 130.
226. E. McInnis, Canada, A Political and Social History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), 546.
227. Lesage to Commissioner, February 16, 1958, 630/111-3, IV, NANR, Ottawa.
228. Commissioner to Lesage, March 6, 1958, ibid.
229. Principal (Thomas Simpson School) to Director, (Northern Administration Branch), September 21, 1960, 630/111-3, IV, NANR, Ottawa.

230. Bompas Hall was named after W. C. Bompas, first Bishop of Mackenzie River (1884), "Historic Names for Northern Schools and Residences" (Press Release), March 2, 1961 (Canada: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources), 5. Cited hereinafter as "Historic Names". The number of children judged to be eligible to attend Bompas Hall in May 1957 was based on the following count: Fort Norman - 2, Fort Wrigley - 6, Fort Simpson - 29, Fort Liard - 5, Nahanni Butte - 4, Hay River - 10, Fort Resolution - 5, and Fort Smith - 5. _____ (departmental officer) to Director May 9, 1957, 630/111-9, III, PAC.
231. At the first synod of the Diocese of the Arctic in April 1961, the report on Anglican activities in the lower Mackenzie was not encouraging: "Today at Fort Simpson we witness a decline in native adherence. Last fall, the church experienced considerable difficulty in finding 17 children from outlying districts to occupy this Hostel [Bompas]". Appendix IV (mimeographed), 2, April 9 - 23, 1961, AACHT. Enrollment figures for the first seven years of the operation of Bompas Hall are as follows:
- | | Eskimo | Indian, Métis and White | Total |
|------|--------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1960 | - | 18 | 18 |
| 1961 | 3 | 21 | 24 |
| 1962 | 22 | 6 | 28 |
| 1963 | 25 | 5 | 30 |
| 1964 | 36 | 5 | 41 |
| 1965 | 32 | 15 | 47 |
| 1966 | 30 | 18 | 48 |
- O. Kudfeldt (administrator, Bompas Hall) to Investigator, (personal communication), April 13, 1970.
232. According to a survey made by Lesage on March 1, 1957, he estimated that there would be 187 school age children from the Simpson area (Providence, Simpson, Nahanni Butte, Jean Marie River, Liard and Wrigly) eligible for the Catholic hostel in Simpson as of September, 1962. S. Lesage, "Catholic School Age Population - Fort Simpson", March 1, 1957, 1-12, LP. The actual enrollment at Lapointe Hall in 1962 was 143. Father Posset (administrator, Lapointe Hall) to Investigator, April 20, 1970, (personal communication).
233. _____ (senior departmental officer), to Administrator of the Mackenzie, October 28, 1960, 630/111-1, VI, NANR, Ottawa.
234. Lesage, 92, 138, 136.
235. "Historic Names", 2.
236. "Teachers' Newsletter" (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, October 1959), 22 (mimeographed). By September 1960 Federal day schools were located at the following

"Catholic" settlements: Arctic Red River, Fort Franklin, Fort Good Hope, Fort Liard, Fort Norman, Fort Providence, Fort Resolution, Fort Wrigly, Jean Marie River, Lac La Martre, Nahanni Butte, Rae, and Snowdrift. By 1961 special schooling arrangements for Catholic children had been made in Hay River, Fort Simpson, Fort Smith, Inuvik, and Yellowknife. ARDNANR (1960-1961), 88.

237. Lesage, 137.
238. "Programme de Laicisation de l'Administration des Affaires du Nord", Commission Oblate Des Oeuvres Indiennes et Esquimaudes", Document No. 4, XXI Reunion, November 10-11, 1958, AVM, 1-3.
239. For examples of the church's concern as well as its representations about the assignment of non-Catholic teachers to federal day schools in Catholic settlements, vide P. Piche (Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission) to S. Lesage, August 31, 1957, AVM; same to same, August 20, 1958, LP; A. Renaud (Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission) to P. Piche (Bishop of the Vicariate of the Mackenzie), June 26, 1959, AVM; _____ (departmental field officer) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, August 23, 1960, 630/103-1, NANR, Fort Smith; Renaud to Piché, April 12, 1961, AVM.
240. _____ (senior departmental officer) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, August 17, 1962, 630/111-1, I, NANR, Ottawa. "It is established policy that the religion of a person is that which is declared by him to be his religion. This is not our business and we must, therefore, accept the religion as declared by the individual concerned". Ibid.
241. Sister J. Dussault (superior, Convent of the Sacred Heart, Providence) to mother general, October 26, 1956, SGM, Providence, 225.
242. Laviolette to S. Lesage, October 17, 1955, AVM.
243. Vide Father _____ on _____ (federal teacher) to J. Jacobson (Superintendent of Schools), 630/186-1, NANR, Ottawa: Administrator of the Mackenzie to Trocellier, October 29, 1958, AVM.
244. Echo Great Slave Lake (St. Joseph's, Resolution), March 1957, I.
245. _____ (departmental educational officer) to _____ (teacher, Fort Liard), April 9, 1958, 630/112-1, NANR, Fort Smith.
246. For a resume of department's policy on religious holidays (Epiphany, Ascension, All Saints, Immaculate Conception), vide

"Congé Scolaire de Fêtes Catholiques", Courrier de Famille, (August-September, 1960), XXIV, No. 169, 1. Vide amendment of July 9, 1956. An Ordinance Respecting Schools in the N.W.T. c/w amendments to 1/B/67, (office consolidation), 50(m).

247. As a result of deviancies from prescribed times for religious teaching at Smith and Providence, a general memorandum was sent to all schools in October 1955 calling "attention to the fact that religious instruction should only be offered at the time specified", _____ (Departmental officer) to Director, October 21, 1955, 630/110-3, VII.
248. _____ (missionary, Fort Franklin) to J. Lesage, December 14, 1955, (translation), 630/108-1, I.
249. J. Lesage to _____ (missionary, Fort Franklin), January 20, 1956, (translation), ibid. This was a draft copy which was slightly modified and subsequently sent to Trocellier. Ibid.
250. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1956, TAU. Trocellier's agreement dated from his discussions with Marsh and Lesage in January 1955. Question Scolaire, 1.
251. Vide supra, 363.
252. Working Paper (1955), 7-8.
253. "Handbook for Prospective Teachers in the Northwest Territories (and in Eskimo Schools in Northern Quebec)," April 25, 1956 (Ottawa, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Education Division) 7 (mimeographed). Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1957, TAU.
254. _____ (departmental official) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, July 12, 1957, 630/119-3, NANR, Fort Smith,
255. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1958, TAU.
256. _____ (departmental officer) to _____ (supervisor, Fleming Hall), September 3, 1958, 630/118-2, NANR (Yellowknife). Programme Official Opening Fort McPherson Hostel, September 12, 1958, TAU. Fleming Hall was named after A. L. Fleming (first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic [1933-1948]). His role in the establishment of schools at McPherson and Tuktoyaktuk will be recalled. Historic Names, 4.
257. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1958, TAU; Classification of Pupils - Mackenzie Education District, June 1959; 633-1, NANR (Yellowknife); Classification of Pupils - Mackenzie Education District Hostels - June 1959.

258. According to Grollier Hall records not more than three non-Catholic children were enrolled at Grollier Hall from 1959 to 1970. Father M. Ruyant (administrator, Grollier Hall) to Investigator, April 21, 1970 (personal communication), and same to same, April 22, 1970. Grollier was named after Father P. Grollier, the first Catholic missionary in the delta, who died at McPherson in 1864. Stringer was named after Bishop I. O. Stringer, an Anglican missionary among the western Eskimo, prior to his becoming Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1931. Historic Names, 6.
259. Classification of Pupils - Mackenzie Education District, June 1959, 633-1, NANR (Yellowknife); Enrollment From Consolidation and Classification of Pupils for Schools in Fulltime Operation, June 30, 1960, ibid.
260. _____ (sister, Aklavik) to superior general (mother house, Montreal), January 29, 1961, SGM, Aklavik Doc. _____. For another account of the closing of Immaculate Conception, vide the account by E. Cook, one of the first pupils enrolled at Immaculate Conception in the parish newsletter of the Church of Our Lady of Victory, January 29, 1961, ibid.
261. Enrollment Form, June 30, 1960, 633-1, NANR (Yellowknife).
262. Interview with Miss M. Looker (staffing officer, [1949 -] Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories), Yellowknife, April 23, 1970.
263. For a discussion of the role of the lay apostolate "a laity... that fully understands their own co-responsibility for the mission of Christ in the Church and in the world," vide, W. M. Abbott, ed. , The Documents of Vatican II (New York: Guild Press, 1966), 486-525.
264. Working Paper (1955), 8. The working paper proposed a 300 bed Anglican residence at "old" Aklavik and a 200 bed Catholic pupil residence at the "new" Aklavik. Ibid. A sketch of the proposed pupil hostels at Aklavik (Inuvik) in the SGM file, dated June 1956, indicated that it was an "Artist's drawing of one of the proposed 250 pupil hostels at Aklavik." June 1956, SGM, Aklavik, Doc. _____. Without referring to Aklavik, Hobart explained the Inuvik phenomena as follows: "The competing church missions wanted a boarding school, seeking to operate the hostels and thus obtain the opportunity for religious indoctrination of the children." C.W. Hobart "The Influence of the School in Acculturation with Special Reference to Greenland," Boreal Institute, "Symposium on Educational Process and Social Change in a Specialized Environmental Milieu" (Whitehorse, Y.T., August 28-30, 1968), Occasional Paper No. 4, 48.

265. _____ (area administrator) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, December 10, 1959, 630/125-9, NANR, Inuvik. Alterations were subsequently made to Stringer Hall to take in additional students, for example, in 1965 there were 338 students in residence. Education Review 1965-1966. (Ottawa, Northern Administration Branch, Educational Branch, 1966), 40.
266. Application for Admission to Pupil Residence, November 1967, 2, NANR. The same criteria were in effect in 1959, although the term "60 day absence" was used instead of "three months," vide infra, n.268.
267. Memorandum to All Principals and Hostel Superintendents, March 12, 1959, 600-1, NANR, Fort Smith.
268. _____ (departmental official) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, November 3, 1959, 630-125-9, NANR, Fort Smith.
269. _____ (area officer) to same, December 10, 1959, ibid.
270. Minutes of a Meeting Held on May 25, 1959 in Room 500 to Discuss Matters Arising in Connection with the Administration of Student Residences, 1-14, AVM. The Oblates were represented by Father P. A. Renaud, ibid.
271. Draft of 'Memorandum of Agreement' between 'Her Majesty' and 'The Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Mackenzie', n.d., 1-4, AVM.
272. _____ (Oblate official) to _____ (senior departmental officer), July 9, 1956, Inuvik, AVM.
273. Memorandum of Agreement (Operation of Inuvik Hostel), 1-5, n.d., (final copy), ibid.
274. _____ (principal, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School) to _____ (senior departmental official), November 1, 1961, 630-1, NANR, Inuvik.
275. _____ (area administrator) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, November 24, 1961, ibid.
276. Superintendent's Report on Hostel (Grollier Hall) June 28, 1963, 630-125-9, NANR, Inuvik.
277. In his letter of November 1, 1961 (vide supra, n.274), the principal mentioned that the "lack of co-operation extended to extracurricular items other than Student Union dances."
278. Vide D. W. Hepburn (assistant principal Protestant wing, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, September 1959-July 1961), "Northern Education - Facade for Failure," Hobart Study, Appendix B.

279. Principal Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Memorandum [title not clear], June 1, 1961, NANR (Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik), 1-5 (photostat).
280. _____ (senior departmental officer) to _____ (senior departmental staff officer), "Separation of Schools at Inuvik and Fort Simpson," March 23, 1959, NANR, Inuvik; "Religious Affiliation of Teaching Staff, (Guide for District Office)", March 1, 1961, ibid.
281. _____ (senior departmental officer) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, November 10, 1961, 630-1, NANR, Inuvik. This memorandum implied that separation would go to Grade VIII rather than IX as stated in the directives cited in No. 281.
282. _____ (note for file), 600-1-1, NANR, Fort Smith.
283. Appendix, Relocation of Aklavik-Schedule of Compensation Proposals, n.d., NANR, Inuvik. "The figure shown is for all R.C. Mission buildings. The Mission claim is subject to reduction by any amount allowed for one or more buildings which the Mission may elect to keep in use at the old site."
284. _____ (senior departmental officer) to _____ (senior Oblate official), March 6, 1961, AVM.
285. Treasury Board Minutes (P.C. 1957-19/202), February 14, 1957 NANR, Inuvik, 1-2.
286. "Circular No. 8," February 15, 1959, in Courrier de Famille, No. 160 (Spring, 1959), 1-3.
287. The Catholic Voice, (March 1959), No. 66, 2.
288. Government subsidies for Grandin College began in 1968 based on foster home care allowances, \$600 per pupil per annum. Appropriation, 1968-1969, Schedule-Exploratory Notes, Approved at 36th Session, Government of the N.W.T., February 1968, Education, Allotment A-102, E4.
289. Vide _____ (senior Oblate official) to Administrator of the Mackenzie, January 1963 (?) AVM, and B. Richardson The Indian in the Northwest Territories (Montreal Star, 1970), 34 (reprint), for a description of Grandin's role.
290. The Oblate Congregation separated itself from direct vicarial control in 1952. As the Grandin project was paid for out of Congregation funds, the vicariate had no direct financial involvement in the building of the College's first unit. Interview with Father J. Pochat-Cotilloux (former rector of Grandin College), April 30, 1970.

291. Northern Affairs Bulletin (January-February 1958) V, No. 1, 160.
292. Ibid., (January-February 1959), V. 1, No. 1,2.
293. All attempts by the investigator to secure a copy of the 'Westwater Report' have been unsuccessful. Discussions with departmental officers in Ottawa indicated that the report exists, as well as its substance; however these sources asked not to be named. A further reference to the document is made in recommendations for further study, vide infra, 624.
294. The reasons for replacing Jacobson are not known; he was transferred to another position within the Department. Jacobson was still chief of the Education Division on December 1, 1959 (NANR 1958-1959, 10); but by March 9, he had been replaced by W. G. Booth. Boreau 1959-1960 (Fort Smith Federal School Yearbook), 53.
295. News of the North, March 3, 1960.
296. R. A. J. Phillips, "The Opening Door," North (November-December, 1960), VII, No. 6, 1-19, and ibid., (January-February, 1961), VIII, No. 1, 11-17.
297. "Priest Calls Department Anti-Catholic," Ottawa Citizen, June 10, 1961.
298. The Canadian Press dispatch of Renaud's remarks, quoted in The Ottawa Journal, June 9, 1961, was included in the "Clipped Comment" section of North (July-August, 1961), VIII, No. 4, 48.

CHAPTER XI

THE SEPARATE SCHOOL QUESTION 1951-1961

As the transition from a mission to a territorial system of schooling was taking place in the Oblate stations, the church, which relied (in the absence of other and more specific guarantees) on the denominational clauses of the Indian Act together with related aboriginal policies as a means of maintaining its schools, had to utilize territorial school legislation¹, an entirely different formula, to establish Catholic schools in Yellowknife in the early 1950's and at Hay River nearly a decade later. Although Catholic educational interests were not unfamiliar with the school legislation which the residual territories inherited at the time of the passing of the Northwest Territories Act in 1906, its terms, especially those referring to municipal taxation, were not viewed as a practicable means of establishing confessional schools.² To recapitulate briefly, the old territorial ordinance permitted grants to schools "whether organized according to law or not."³ Once this authority enabled the payment of day and residential grants to mission schools, the practise continued, notwithstanding the repeal of the School Grants Ordinance in 1947,⁴ until its rationale was finally brought to an end with the closing of the Providence mission school in 1960. Another and ultimately more important section of the Ordinance pertained to the establishment of separate schools.⁵ It will be recalled that Breynat referred to this during the schooling negotiations at Smith in the 1930's,⁶ and that Moore recommended its deletion in 1945;⁷ however, the legislation remained untried and unamended until 1951, when it became

subject to close scrutiny by church and government officials alike. Even if a separate school district were established in Yellowknife, the possibility of similar foundations in other settlements was negligible; for, quite apart from local taxation requirements, the erection of a separate school district depended on the prior existence of a 'public' counterpart. As will be shown this encumbrance became the issue in Hay River where the church, seeking a way out of a common territorial system, moved to have its own school.

In this chapter the effort to establish separate schools and the concomitant debate will be discussed as follows: (1) the Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District; and (2) the Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School District.

1. The Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School

In this section the establishment of a confessional school in Yellowknife and the state's reaction to this initiative will be examined as follows: (1) a separate school district; and (2) a school of opportunity. As background, these discussions will be prefaced by a résumé of the development of the Yellowknife Public School in February 1951.

The Yellowknife Public School.

As Yellowknife's beginnings as well as the circumstances surrounding the foundation of its first school have already been reviewed, it will suffice to recall that the school differed from those of other settlements in its white clientele, in its non-

confessional orientation, and in its greater subsidies compared to mission schools.⁸ At the time of Moore's visit the settlement was undergoing a temporary decline, its school enrollment had fallen to thirty in 1944;⁹ however, its population increased steadily with the resumption of mining activity after the war, and by 1951 the school's registration had risen to 238.¹⁰ Before reviewing the board's proposal for an addition in 1951, note should be made of the school's financing as well as its enrollment during the early post-war years.

In March 1946 the territorial Council approved a request from the Yellowknife Public School Board for the capital cost of a new school.¹¹ Enrollment increases led to further revisions which received Council's sanction; in fact, shortly after the opening of the school in December 1947, the territorial government agreed to pay for the entire cost (approximately \$211,000) of the school.¹² Until 1951 the board was required to raise only \$5,000 for capital construction, \$4,000 of which was received through donations, for school facilities valued in excess of \$220,000.¹³ This funding contrasted markedly with that given Catholic mission schools. The church erected its schools at Simpson, Aklavik, and Resolution without government assistance, and although the Smith and Providence schools fared better, it will be recalled that the church was required to contribute one-half of the capital cost of these institutions.¹⁴ Such comparisons notwithstanding, the government's munificence to the Yellowknife School District, especially in terms of capital grants, set a precedent for further foundations of this kind, whether public or separate. In so far as operating allowances

were concerned, the territorial government was less generous. In 1946, for example, federal per pupil allowances to the Yellowknife School were slightly less than that given the mission school in Smith and less than half that given to Simpson;¹⁵ however, when municipal contributions are taken into account for the same year, Yellowknife had approximately \$165 and \$140 dollars more per pupil than the schools at Smith and Simpson.¹⁶ By 1950 the Yellowknife school was receiving more per pupil from the federal government than the mission school in Smith, and while Simpson was still receiving more than Yellowknife, the percentage difference had lessened from that of 1946.¹⁷ Moreover, when the total federal-municipal grant is considered, it was costing \$250 more to educate a pupil in Yellowknife than in Smith and about \$125 more per pupil in Yellowknife than in Simpson.¹⁸ Consequently, when Yellowknife's capital and operating grants are considered, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the advocates of a separate school in Yellowknife would have expected similar funding, if measures were taken to form an appropriate school authority under the Ordinance.

By 1951 the Indian population of the Yellowknife area was 345.¹⁹ While many Indians spent most of the year in distant trapping and hunting fields, an increasing number of them had begun to reside permanently in and near the Yellowknife community. A few Indian children were sent to the residential schools at Providence and Resolution; the remainder went without schooling. In May 1948, for example, MacKinnon, after noting that there were no Indian children in attendance at the Yellowknife Public School, advised "...It is

quite possible that there will not be any in the future as the new government schools will likely take care of [them]."²⁰ To the Yellowknife school board, the problem of educating Indian children was best resolved by having them attend day or mission schools supervised by Indian Affairs, with those showing promise eligible for places in the senior grades of the public school.²¹ The administration seconded the school district's view on a number of occasions.²² In the spring of 1951, H. R. Low (Council's educational advisor) recommended that a separate institution be built for the Indian children of the settlement,²³ but by this time, the school board had lost interest in the Indian school project; a burgeoning enrollment as well as the need for improved high school facilities having become its main concern.²⁴ With this in mind, the board sent two representatives to Ottawa in February 1951 to secure the necessary funds for an addition to the existing school.²⁵

A Separate School District

At Council's meeting on February 15, 1951, as Messrs. MacNiven and Grogan were awaiting the opportunity to substantiate the Board's request for \$230,000, Mr. L. C. Audette, an appointed member of Council and a Roman Catholic, informed his colleagues that Yellowknife's Catholics were preparing a petition for a separate school. Surprised, the public school representatives admitted that they were unaware of Catholic intentions on the subject. The discussion ended when Commissioner Young declared that the matter should be dropped until the situation was clarified.²⁶

Shortly before Council's meeting, Audette was told by Father A. Gathy (parish priest at Yellowknife) that his parishioners desired a separate school. According to Father F. Ebner, Gathy's assistant, his superior's remarks were not intended to preclude a favourable vote on the public school's request. Gathy's conversation with Audette was intended to notify Council that "the Catholics of Yellowknife were thinking of a separate school."²⁷ Of this fact Council was, moreover, already aware. At the first meeting of the Sub-Committee on Education held on October 16, 1947, Commissioner Keenleyside stated:

...that he had recently been visited by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, who intimated that they would be requesting the establishment of a separate school for Roman Catholic school children in Yellowknife.

The regulations governing the establishment of separate schools were reviewed;²⁸ however, as the church officials did not follow up these intimations, the subject was not discussed again by the sub-committee.

The fact of the matter was that the attention of Catholic missionaries was almost completely given over to changes that had been brought about by the Indian and territorial administrations in the traditional centres of the vicariate. From time to time, however, Trocellier and his advisors were reminded of the significance of separate schools. In March 1948, Father J. O. Plourde (superintendent of the Oblate Indian Eskimo Commission) wrote Trocellier stating that the administration under Keenleyside appeared determined to establish a system of non-sectarian schools throughout the district. In so far as Yellowknife was concerned, the church's response was abundantly clear:

Je suis de plus en plus persuadé que si vous voulez avoir une école à Yellowknife c'est le temps de la demander et d'insister pour que les taxes soient mises à notre disposition. 29

Approximately a year later Father Lesage received a letter from Father C. Kindervater, an active member of the Bishops' Committee on Education in Alberta, on the status of Catholic schools in the Mackenzie. To Kindervater the future of Catholic education in the northern vicariate rested ultimately on one condition: "... your establishing Catholic schools in theory and practice by LAW before the Territories would be given autonomy..." Briefly reviewing the history of separate schools in such provinces as Alberta, Ontario, and Saskatchewan, he warned that any other arrangement except that provided in the Ordinances would be ineffectual. It was essential that a separate school be set up that would enroll pupils in grades one to twelve. In his opinion Yellowknife was a good place for such a foundation. He concluded by warning of the difficulties inherent in such an undertaking, pointing out the problems of organizing a district in an area which included Métis and Indian children.³⁰

Although sympathetic to the idea of a Catholic school in Yellowknife, there is no evidence to indicate that Trocellier was instrumental in having the matter of a separate school raised at the February 16 meeting of Council. In fact, according to one Oblate, Trocellier did not commit himself wholeheartedly to the separate school proposal until negotiations for its establishment were well under way:

I am more than pleased to report that His Excellency [Trocellier] is fully decided to go ahead and back the Separate School Committee all the way. He is now taking the initiative. 31

The impetus for the creation of a separate school district in Yellowknife came mainly from Oblate officials in Ottawa and from Fathers Lesage and Gathy; however, when Gathy went to Ottawa to see Audette, he left behind no organization prepared to meet the problems that would attend school separation.³² The immediate concern of vicariate officials and their supporters was whether or not the Catholics of Yellowknife would be willing to assume the financial burden of a separate school. In a letter to Trocellier on the day following the Council meeting, Audette wrote of his anxiety in this matter:

C'est peut-être moins généreux de ma part mais j'entretiens quelques craintes sur l'attitude de mes correligionnaires contribuables lorsque viendra le temps de mettre la main dans leur poche pour le paiement des taxes. 33

In reply Trocellier stated that he shared Audette's apprehension. He too was most concerned about the response that Ebner would secure from the parish regarding financial support for the proposed school.³⁴

Within a week of Audette's announcement to Council, Ebner had distributed a questionnaire to all the Catholic residents of Yellowknife in order to sound out their views on the following:

1. Are you in favour of a Catholic school in this town?
2. Will you pay your taxes to the Catholic school?
3. Will you send your children to the Catholic school?
4. Do you want sisters teaching in the Catholic school? 35

The results were encouraging. Of 169 questionnaires, 162 were returned with an affirmative vote to the first question.³⁶ Of 160 questionnaires seen by the investigator, only two gave negative responses to the above questions, and one of these opposed the first question only.³⁷

It is important to note that the questionnaire was prefaced by this statement:

There are no reasons to claim that your taxes will be higher than that of the public school. You may rest assured that corporation taxes and government grants will be paid in fair proportion to the proposed Catholic school.

In other words, Catholic ratepayers were assured that the erection of a separate school district would not require any greater sacrifice than that exacted by the public school board. On March 1, 1951, Ebner assured Audette that his fears about financing a Catholic school were not in order. At the same time he noted that the affirmative response of Catholic electors was to a significant extent based on the assumption that separation would not mean higher taxes.³⁸

In addition to his anxiety about financial support, Trocellier was also concerned about the probable enrollment at the separate school.³⁹ Here again the referendum, specifically the positive response to question three, demonstrated the parishioners' intentions. The poll was a good indication, therefore, that most of the eighty-one Catholic children registered at the public school in March 1951,⁴⁰ would transfer to a separate institution.

For the time being, then, the referendum laid to rest the bishop's misgivings.⁴¹ Indeed, the results of the referendum helped sustain much of the activity of separate school supporters in the months to come. Approximately a year after it was held, it was referred to by Mr. N. Byrne, the first chairman of the Yellowknife Catholic School Board, as an "unanimous consensus of opinion that has served as the principal guide in all planning and negotiations subsequently undertaken."⁴²

The referendum also helped stimulate the formation of a Catholic Taxpayers' Committee in late February 1951. Having as its main objective the establishment of a separate school district, the committee, under R. Brault, chairman, and Father Ebner, secretary, following several strategy sessions,⁴³ informed the public school board's chairman and legal advisor of its intentions on March 6.⁴⁴ Four days later, J. G. Wright, the newly appointed chief of Northern Administration Branch, met Ebner in Yellowknife. It appears that Wright was in accord with most if not all of the committee's demands:

I [Ebner] requested if we ought to get the same treatment as the Public School. He said yes. I asked then if we ought to get a 100% grant for original construction. He said we should. Then he said that he did not know what policy was in effect at present. ⁴⁵

Wright's visit undoubtedly made Father Ebner optimistic; the next day he wrote the commissioner, on behalf of the committee, asking for a capital grant of \$65,000.⁴⁶ Once the committee made this request, it rested and awaited 'word from Ottawa.'⁴⁷

On March 2, the News of the North, the Yellowknife weekly newspaper, noted that the commissioner had informed the Yellowknife public school board that grants for the construction of an addition to its school would be delayed while government and church authorities explored the possibilities of a Catholic school at Yellowknife.⁴⁸ As there is no record of any correspondence from the administration to vicariate authorities for about a month after Audette's announcement, one can only surmise that the negotiations on the separate school were those conversations that took place between officials of the administration and Catholic representatives in Ottawa.

Although most of the Catholic minority⁴⁹ favoured the scheme, most other citizens of Yellowknife were opposed to the establishment of a separate school. The pages of the News of the North reflect the thinking of the latter group. E. R. Horton, the paper's editor and a Roman Catholic, saw the move toward separation as an "ill timed effort...which will set ablaze the vicious fires of religious intolerance and bigotry."⁵⁰ Father Gathy confided privately that he found the stand of his "friend" Mr. Horton regrettable in that it was arousing fanatical opposition to the separate school project.⁵¹ Several weeks after Horton's opening salvo, more specific objections to separation were listed in an unsigned letter to the editor. The writer thought the setting up of a separate school would (1) divide the community on religious and racial lines; (2) necessitate the costly duplication of facilities; and (3) violate the principle of separation of church and state.⁵²

Much of the community's reaction to the activities of the Catholic taxpayers' committee was voiced by members of the public school board. Opposed to separation, the board attempted to placate the demands of separate school supporters with a number of compromise proposals. The first was advanced by the board's lawyer, Mr. J. Parker, who suggested to Ebner that religious instruction be arranged for Catholic pupils at the public school.⁵³ Two members of the public school board suggested that the Catholic committee postpone the establishment of a separate school for five years. They promised that the public board would not oppose a Catholic school at this future date in that this moratorium would permit the board to complete

its building plans in a non-competitive situation.⁵⁴ A third option was raised at a meeting of Catholic taxpayers, when it was proposed that both schools be housed in the same building sharing special facilities.⁵⁵ For the time being, none of these suggestions modified the committee's objective; it continued to argue that the need for a separate school was imperative.⁵⁶

Acknowledging the committee's letters of March 5 and 11, Young wrote Ebner on March 16 advising that informal discussions "between Mr. Audette, Father Gathy, Father Renault [sic] and myself" had taken place in Ottawa concerning a proposal which had many advantages to the community in Yellowknife and in particular from a financial point of view to the taxpayers of the Roman Catholic faith." It was probable, the commissioner concluded, that details on the discussions would be coming from Audette.⁵⁷ The same day Ebner received a telex from Audette outlining a "plan de compromis pour satisfaire tous interets..." In brief it was suggested that an auditorium-gymnasium would be built next to the existing public school and a new Catholic school. The complex would be financed and administered by a common school board composed of Catholic and public committees which would supervise instructional and other arrangements of their respective units. Unlike Audette who was rather sanguine about having both schools "sous même toit et chauffage,"⁵⁸ or Hardie, a parishioner, who, after meeting with Young, let Ebner know that he supported the "compromise,"⁵⁹ Gathy⁶⁰ and Renaud⁶¹ were less enthusiastic, although neither were opposed to having further discussions. Despite the advice of the preceding, identified by Lesage

as "partisans" of the common school scheme,⁶² the Catholic ratepayer's committee, at its meeting on March 18, considered the compromise as "unacceptable":

It would lead to difficulties of management, would provide a precedent, impose upon us the same expense rate as the Public School and also the liabilities if we wished our own. Until further investigation into the problem it could not be ascertained definitively what would be involved. 63

On March 22 the committee advised Young that his plan was still under consideration.⁶⁴

The next day the News of the North, after giving editorial endorsement to the compromise plan, reported on talks that deputy commissioner Cunningham was having with school board and church authorities in Yellowknife on the proposal already outlined by Audette.⁶⁵ At a meeting of public school officials on March 20, attended by Cunningham, it was agreed in principle, albeit "grudgingly and reluctantly," to have the Yellowknife school administered by a board of six persons, two of whom would be Catholic and four Protestant, who would be responsible for all matters relating to the physical operation of the school, with each group hiring its own teachers.⁶⁶ On March 27 Cunningham met Ebner. After pointing out that he did not question the right of Catholics to a separate school, the deputy stressed the following: (1) that the total Catholic assessment in Yellowknife was only about 10 per cent; and (2) that a separate school board could not expect a capital grant of more than 50 per cent. From Ebner's interview notes neither party mentioned the compromise plan⁶⁷ or an alternative which Trocellier had cautiously sanctioned on the twenty-third, namely,

that the common school be operated by fully-constituted public and separate boards.⁶⁸ That evening Cunningham attended a meeting of the Yellowknife Home and School Association where he announced that he would recommend to Council that it allow a grant and loan to the public school for an auditorium-gymnasium.⁶⁹ On behalf of the committee, Ebner noted these events in a letter to the commissioner the following day. Now that the matter of the extension to the public school had been settled, the committee's goal of providing separate schooling facilities for Catholic children would proceed. However, until such time as the separate school became a reality, it was hoped that agreement would be reached with the public board for the education of Catholic children.⁷⁰ While the News of the North viewed the church's rejection of the compromise as "a bitter disappointment to those who hoped to see less division in the community,"⁷¹ Young's acknowledgement of the Committee's stand was non-committal.⁷²

With the compromise out of the way, the committee, pre-occupied all the while with the financial implications of separation moved to establish a school district. Without detailing the subsequent exchange of correspondence, it could be said that the government appeared to be a cautious, even reluctant, advocate of the committee's aspirations, especially when its actions are contrasted with the enthusiastic support given to the founders of the Yellowknife public school some twenty years before. It might be noted, for example, that it took only two months to establish the public school district in 1939,⁷³ while about the same amount of time elapsed before the Catholic ratepayers committee learned that the government

found its March 5 petition for the erection of a separate district defective.⁷⁴ While a senior member of the department was rather defensive about the attention given to the March 5 petition later that year,⁷⁵ the commissioner's position that there must be "no doubt of the legality of each step taken in this matter"⁷⁶ seemed to satisfy most committee members who, unlike Lesage (who found the commissioner dilatory),⁷⁷ probably shared the view taken by one of Lesage's colleagues: "I'm surprised that Ottawa authorized a vote so soon and hope that lack of a definite financing plan re the school will not prejudice the cause."⁷⁸ As the day for the school meeting approached, the committee was mostly concerned with the outcome of the poll,⁷⁹ and it must have been a relief, especially to N. Byrne, the newly elected chairman, to certify the June 13 results. Of the eighteen ballots cast thirteen favoured the formation of the Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 2, and five were opposed.⁸⁰ The tasks ahead of the new district following its erection on July 11, 1951,⁸¹ were almost Sisyphean in nature, and it is to these that the discussion will now be directed: (1) schooling places; (2) capital grants; (3) operating funds; (4) the new ordinance, and (5) St. Patrick's school.

Schooling Places. Shortly after appearing on the scene, the Catholic taxpayers' committee, realizing that it could not provide the necessary facilities in time, indicated that it hoped to reach an agreement with the public school board for the education of Catholic children during the school year beginning in September 1951.⁸²

This was done with ease on August 3 when McGruther (chairman of the public school board), in reply to a request from N. Byrne (chairman of the separate school board),⁸³ advised that the public board was prepared to provide schooling places for all children in the community for the 1951-1952 school year.⁸⁴ According to religious class attendance figures during the year seventy-six Catholic pupils including three Indian children, were registered at the public school.⁸⁵ Further delays in the construction of the separate school prompted Byrne to ask the public board on February 2, 1952 "to extend the present arrangement for another full school term 1952-1953".⁸⁶ On this occasion, however, McGruther's answer was far from encouraging. Upon the advice of its solicitor, the board had decided that it could not "voluntarily accept the responsibility for educating Roman Catholic children" as any such expenditure "would make the board open to legal action...."⁸⁷ On receiving copies of this exchange, Young advised the public board that its stance was correct; however, he went on to suggest that the Ordinance could be amended at Council's session in July to ensure that "educational facilities are available during the next school year to Roman Catholic children."⁸⁸ On March 26 McGruther replied that the public board would be prepared to take the "Separate School children in if we are assured that the following will be done":

- (1) that the Separate School District No. 2 will be dissolved at once.
- (2) that N.W.T. Council will assure the Board that no change in the taxation set up will be tolerated.
- (3) that any additional building costs increased by this Board due to accomodating Separate School pupils will be from monies already appropriated by the N.W.T. Council for Yellowknife Separate School District No. 2. 89

According to a report in the March 28 News of the North, the board was adamantly opposed to any change in existing school legislation.⁹⁰

The move toward dissolution was heightened from other sources as well. On March 15, the News of the North, after reporting that the separate school district could expect an annual revenue of about \$2,400 from Catholic ratepayers, recommended that the "new school district dissolve itself, without prejudice to its revival at a later and more appropriate date."⁹¹ In a letter to Audette, Byrne refuted suggestions which had been made in Yellowknife and Ottawa that the enrollment of the Catholic school would be 85 per cent Indian,⁹² and while the board went to some length to prove the inaccuracy of this projection,⁹³ its prevalency must be counted as a factor in the move toward dissolution. On May 23, the News of the North reported on the results of an unofficial poll it had taken among Catholic ratepayers. Of the twenty-three ballots returned, the tally was eighteen to five against establishing a school.⁹⁴ By this time, however, the separate school board, having secured a promise of financial support from Trocellier as well as an understanding from the public school board that it would take in Catholic students at cost, had issued two circulars to Catholics in Yellowknife affirming its intention to proceed, and asking them to ignore "the obvious attempts by dissemblers to have our District dissolved at the moment construction is about to start."⁹⁵ Audette and Hardie, both of whom had given some consideration to dissolution as a temporary measure, were also notified that such an option was no longer necessary.⁹⁶ When Young was informed that the public school would

take in Catholic children on the basis of \$400 for students in grades one to six and \$600 for students in grades seven to twelve, he advised that he would ask Council to amend the ordinance to permit such an arrangement.⁹⁷ The tuition charges were deemed extravagant by some Catholics,⁹⁸ but they were accepted "for the children of separate school supporters" on June 5.⁹⁹ The same day the commissioner wrote Byrne to advise "that the separate school is responsible for providing education for all Roman Catholic children regardless of whether their parents are ratepayers or not."¹⁰⁰ If Young's interpretation was sustained, it would have meant that all tuition fees for the Catholic children registered at the public school would have to be paid, requiring a vicariate subsidy, according to a calculation by Father Serrurot, to the separate board of \$18,000.¹⁰¹ Needless to say, Byrne contested the commissioner's interpretation, pointing out that the "Separate School District is a ratepayers' school district and we think that we actually have no liability whatever to educate Catholic children of non-ratepayers."¹⁰² The commissioner acknowledged Byrne's argument but did not answer it until July 15.¹⁰³ A formal agreement between the boards on the tuition scale was completed on August 15.¹⁰⁴ During the 1952-1953 school year, there were eighty-seven Catholic pupils registered at the public school, with the separate board being responsible for the tuition of forty-five pupils in grades one to twelve.¹⁰⁵ The tuition costs were funded from territorial grants of \$125 (Grades I-VI) and \$200 (VII-XII), the income from a twenty-two mill rate on Catholic property assessment, with the balance being met by the vicariate.¹⁰⁶

This arrangement, although costly, kept the separate board intact, giving it sufficient time to complete its school which opened with an enrollment of ninety-six pupils, thirty-nine of whom were Métis or Indian, in September 1953.¹⁰⁷

Capital grants. Until June 1950, when Council authorized the public board to borrow \$100,000 for an addition to its school, the public school had been funded almost entirely by the government.¹⁰⁸ Instead of using this debenture, the board delayed its construction plans until February 1951, when it asked Council for \$230,000, 60 per cent of which was to be paid as a grant, with the remainder being repayable with interest in annual installments of \$15,000. As the separate school issue led to the tabling of the board's request, Council's vote on the submission was never recorded.¹⁰⁹ Thereafter, however, the administration maintained the position that it would not pay more than 50 per cent of the approved capital cost of district schools,¹¹⁰ implementing this formula on June 12, 1951 by granting one-half the cost of an extension to the public school.¹¹¹ Looking back to the capital subsidies which had been provided the public school during its first twenty years, the Catholic ratepayers' committee and its successor continued to hope that the government would pay the entire "original construction" cost of the separate school,¹¹² and while this hope was often repeated,¹¹³ its most cogent rationale was probably given by one of the board's legal advisors in a letter to Lesage:

...It is definitively laid down in the law that the sovereign body [federal government] contemplated that the lesser body [the territorial Council] would carry out those powers without favour or discrimination. Therefore where you

have two bodies of equal status in the eyes of the law, namely the Public and Separate School Boards it must be said that the Federal Government contemplated that a grant given to the one would be matched by a similar grant to the other. 114

Lesage was equally concerned about the wider implications of the government's formula: "The failure to secure a 100% grant for the construction of the 1st Separate School in Yellowknife shall determine the fiscal policy for all other prospective separate schools in the territories."¹¹⁵ Indeed, this concern may have been behind a warning given the separate school board by an Oblate official in September 1951:

I strongly advise you...to postpone the request for a grant and the immediate construction of your school. The Administration will be only too pleased to see you rush into this prospect, request fifty per cent construction grant and tie down the finances of [the] Board to a heavy debt. 116

From the time of the committee's first request for a capital grant in March 1951,¹¹⁷ progress on the school was slow. In fact, the government did not give final approval to the plans for the school until July 1952.¹¹⁸ In November 1951 anxiety about the delay along with an indication from Trocellier that he was prepared to give some assistance to get the building underway,¹¹⁹ prompted the board to advise him that it was considering asking the vicariate for a loan should it not secure a full capital grant.¹²⁰ At the December session of Council after Audette introduced a request for \$60,000. for the Catholic school, one-half of which was to be in the form of a grant,¹²¹ the chance of receiving more dimmed considerably, although Lesage, among others, did not give up hope.¹²² In March 1952 as the threat of dissolution loomed, a guarantee from Trocellier that he would pay

for one-half the cost of the school¹²³ finally led the administration into approving a modified school plan of this amount in July.¹²⁴ Although the administration deleted an auditorium and two special class-rooms from the board's submission,¹²⁵ its parsimony reduced the indebtedness of the vicariate, which in addition to matching the government's capital grant, also helped the school project by promising a convent and the labour of several brothers.¹²⁶ Frustrated in what it considered to be just in terms of a capital grant, the board realized more fully than before that its viability would be further compromised if it did not obtain sufficient operating funds.

Operating Funds. Apart from donations, there were two sources of income available to the separate board: per pupil grants and returns from school assessment. On April 27, 1951, the Catholic ratepayers' committee suggested that the "government grant paid to the separate school shall be the difference between the product of this specified mill-rate [the same as the public school's] and the approved minimum cost of operation and maintenance of the separate school annually."¹²⁷ If this formula was accepted, the problem of the low Catholic assessment would have been easily overcome, as the separate board would receive adjusted per pupil grants to make up the difference between its tax proceeds and total operating costs. The commissioner replied that there was no provision for paying greater grants to separate districts than were paid to public districts:

If the principle of a differential grant for separate schools was recognized, a small religious minority (e.g. one supported by four ratepayers and accomodating twelve pupils) could compel the Administration to pay wholly unreasonable grants. There can therefore be no relaxation of the present

policy of making uniform per capita grants to all school districts.... 128

On reviewing the above, Lesage wrote Ebner to advise that he was preparing a memorandum "concerning the subject of the financial proposal which the commissioner considers a closed subject." Agreeing that the existing territorial per pupil grant was "a fair contribution," Lesage, after pointing out that a differential grant for poorer districts, "i.e. with poorer assessment whether Public or Separate, is paid by Department s of Education in several Provinces," indicated the main inequity: "the unfair distribution of revenues comes from the vicious legislation on taxation of Companies and Public Utilities or Government sponsored companies."¹²⁹

In terms of operating funds, separate school supporters had two alternatives or a combination of both (1) to obtain a differential per pupil formula or (2) to obtain a greater share of taxation revenues. Young had already ruled out the first alternative, and although Lesage, in a memorandum dated May 10, argued for a differential grant at least until such time as there was a "more equitable distribution of corporation taxes,"¹³⁰ the Catholic ratepayers' committee put his arguments aside, believing that the administration would be more inclined to yield to petitions favouring "a more equitable distribution of local taxation."¹³¹

After admitting to Wright (chief of Northern Administration) in March 1951 that income from the estimated Catholic assessment would be meagre, Ebner maintained that if per pupil need was taken into account the Catholic school would be eligible for about one-third of personal and corporate taxation.¹³² Ebner had already suggested this to several members of the public board some days before, only to be

told that it would never be accepted.¹³³ The public board was in essential agreement with existing provisions in which individual ratepayers could be required to support either board, and in which the distribution of corporation taxes to such boards have a direct relationship to the amount of stock held by Catholic and Protestant shareholders.¹³⁴ Within a month of Audette's announcement, two irreconcilable positions had been taken with the public school supporters upholding the status quo, and the advocates of the Catholic school arguing for "equality of financial treatment."¹³⁵ In terms of school tax apportionment Ebner and others viewed the Quebec system as a model. In that province dissentient schools in addition to receiving funds obtained by taxes on individual ratepayers shared in other school funds in proportion to the number of children attending such schools.¹³⁶ Consideration was also given the neutral panel system of school financing followed in Calgary, Alberta in which a board collected all school rates and paid each district a share based on the number of pupils attending its schools. Quite apart from his expectation that the public board would accept neither arrangement, Lesage, expressing doubt about the constitutionality of the latter and concern about the choice which both gave Catholic parents,¹³⁷ favoured instead an amendment to the ordinance which would apportion corporation school taxes according to the number of Roman Catholic or Protestant residents.¹³⁸ After September 1951 Lesage reiterated the above proposal in several forms;¹³⁹ on September 26, however, he mentioned a possible second choice which Catholics in Alberta were seeking, namely, the apportionment of corporation taxes on the basis

of the amount of personal property owned by Catholic ratepayers.¹⁴⁰

In a letter to Trocellier, dated March 12, 1952, the separate board advised that notwithstanding all the correspondence on the subject, it could not ascertain "what will be done or when we can expect some amendment to be made which will legally and constitutionally assure our school of a fair and equitable portion of said corporation taxes."¹⁴¹ The board's lack of capital together with an estimated Catholic personal property assessment of \$62,000 which would have amounted to an annual yield of \$2,400, prompted the commissioner to advise on March 13 that the government's share of the school's capital cost would be withheld unless the board could show that it could meet its expenses.¹⁴² Had Trocellier not made assurances to the board, on March 17 and 25, that he was prepared to meet its capital and operating deficits, there is no doubt that the school project would have been delayed, if not abandoned entirely.¹⁴³ Neither wishing nor expecting subsidies of such magnitude indefinitely, the board renewed its efforts to effect a change in the distribution of corporation taxes by engaging J. J. (later Senator) Connolly, an Ottawa barrister, who acted on the church's behalf during the Hope Commission hearings (Ontario Royal Commission on Education, 1950), to present its point of view to the administration.

Connolly was not engaged too soon. On March 10 R. Winters (minister of Resources and Development) reviewed the matter of the distribution of corporation taxes in terms of existing practice in Ontario, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, in a letter to J. Lesage (parliamentary secretary, minister of External Affairs) and, without revealing

his own preference, advised that the commissioner was contemplating presenting an amendment to Council in July "to ensure the Yellowknife Separate School Board a share of school taxes paid by Companies."¹⁴⁵ After considering a submission from the separate board to the effect that school enrollment should be the basis of allotting corporation taxes,¹⁴⁶ Young replied on April 7: "There is no Canadian province which gives to a Roman Catholic Separate School as large a share of company taxes as you suggest." A survey of provincial practice, continued the commissioner, revealed that no province gave more favourable treatment in this regard than Saskatchewan, namely, the apportionment of corporation taxes in terms of the amount of personal property owned by Catholic ratepayers. The board's proposed amendment would mean that one-third of the corporation taxes would be allocated to the separate school; the Saskatchewan formula, which the commissioner was considering recommending to the minister, would mean that the Yellowknife separate school would receive about one-tenth of the corporation tax yield. Young concluded by stating that should he recommend the Saskatchewan formula, he would also have to propose an amendment giving the individual ratepayer "the right of choice to be entered on the assessment rolls as a supporter of either the public or the separate schools."¹⁴⁷

The administration's position on corporation taxes mediated between those taken by the proponents of the separate school and its opponents. References have already been made to the News of the North's arguments that its establishment was premature, and to the public school board's stand that it would not tolerate any change in the

"taxation setup."¹⁴⁸ On the same day that it informed the separate board that its revenues would amount to a "grand total of \$1,191.95,"¹⁴⁹ the local trustees board wrote the commissioner to protest the imposition of a separate school "which only thirteen persons have indicated they want." While the trustees did not want to deny the right of a minority to establish a separate school, such an undertaking was an "unjustified extravagance...at this stage of the town's development." The board, as a municipal body, had hitherto refrained from commenting on the separation move; however, as there was an indication that a change in the School Assessment Act was contemplated, it became a community concern, because the proposed school could neither be built nor operated unless the Council "takes part of the present tax revenues of the public school and hands them over to the separate school." Any such change would place an unfair burden on the companies which had always fully supported the public school.¹⁵⁰ On June 13 the commissioner received a further representation from the trustees in the form of the results of a plebiscite conducted on the following question: "Do you agree with the attitude taken by the Local Trustee Board regarding amendment to the School Assessment Ordinance? "

The board's position was upheld by a vote of 372 to 82, with 92 of the 111 ratepayers polled supporting its stand. To the board, this was convincing evidence that the people of Yellowknife "do not want any revenues from corporate assessments to be diverted from the public school to the separate school."¹⁵¹ In reply to a protest from the separate board which maintained that the trustee's plebiscite was ultra vires,¹⁵² Young replied that he felt that it was the

responsibility of each member of Council to evaluate and weigh expressions of this kind.¹⁵³

The New Ordinance. Until steps were taken to have a Catholic school in Yellowknife, church authorities had viewed territorial school legislation as an anachronism; however, once a separate district was established, the desire to obtain financial equity without delay so preoccupied Catholic schooling interests that they deemed it neither timely nor propitious to press for legislation fully in accord with their ambitions. J. Cormack, (one of the board's legal advisors who later submitted a minority report as a member of the Alberta Royal Commission on Education, 1959)¹⁵⁴ forwarded a paper to Lesage in January 1952 entitled "Treatment of the Minority in Alberta's Education,"¹⁵⁵ and a memorandum to Trocellier in May on territorial school legislation,¹⁵⁶ both questioning the validity of certain sections of the School Ordinance. As section ten of the Northwest Territories Act of 1906 stated that the majority or minority could establish schools "as they think fit," the substance of the following sections (to cite several) of the Ordinance were of doubtful validity: section four (departmental control of schools), section six (departmental school regulations), section eight (educational council), section 137 (religious instruction), and section 149 (qualifications of teachers). The foregoing was not exclusive; however, the material substance of the sections cited indicated that the Ordinance violated rights set forth in the Act.¹⁵⁷ What mattered, of course, in the existing context was that any new school legislation brought before Council should be given detailed study to ensure that it did not

perpetuate existing invalidities, such as the state's proscribing the time for religious instruction. Second, that it did not enact other invalidities, such as giving Catholic ratepayers the option to register either as public or separate school supporters. And finally, that such legislation remedied "existing injustices from a moral though not legal point of view." Legislators had to realize that Catholics were bound in conscience to educate their children according to the directives of the church; moreover, they had the right to do so under the Act. When the Act was passed neither the religion of corporations nor the distribution of their taxes were considered. Since then, rather than "slanting its legislation" on corporate taxation on the basis of school population, Council had arrogated to itself, despite the fact that the Catholic population of the territories was composed largely of non-landowners, the power to distribute such taxes "on a ridiculous and unworkable basis."¹⁵⁸ Cormack's memorandum, together with submissions from members of the vicariate, the separate board, Oblate officials in Ottawa and Edmonton, were forwarded to Connolly who had agreed to present arguments on the district's behalf before Council in July.¹⁵⁹

In the meantime the administration was preparing to amend or to re-enact the Ordinances not only to "clear up," as one councillor put it, "some anomalies,"¹⁶⁰ but to resolve a number of immediate issues resulting from the establishment of the separate school in Yellowknife. According to an Oblate informant, a senior official of the department, aided by a copy of Weir's The Separate School Question in Canada, had started to draft a revised ordinance in mid-

February.¹⁶¹ From April on councillors were in receipt of copies of correspondence related to the school question between the administration, the school boards, the local trustee board, as well as other interested parties.¹⁶² In May they received a lengthy memorandum from the commissioner's office entitled the "School Ordinance" together with a prefatory statement which read in part:

There have been no substantial amendments to the School Ordinance since 1905. It now appears that the Ordinance needs substantial revision particularly in regard to its separate school provisions. At present it gives no share of corporation taxes to separate schools, it does not assert the right of individuals to support the school of their choice, and it does not give a public school district the right to provide education facilities for the children of supporters of separate schools where a Separate School District has been organized, but it has not made separate school facilities available.

For the benefit of councillors an analysis of the above matters in terms of provincial legislation was attached. "There are no separate schools" summarized the situation in four provinces: Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and British Columbia; Manitoba was like the preceding except for religious teaching. The intricacies of the Newfoundland system were not dwelt upon apart from a note that its schools were provincially financed and entirely sectarian. Mention was made that Quebec had two distinct state systems, governed by Protestant and Catholic committees. Quebec permitted dissentient schools a share in corporate taxes in proportion to the number of students attending such schools; the statutory provisions enabling dissentient trustees to impose and collect taxes levied upon dissentient inhabitants were also cited. The practise in Ontario which permitted a Roman Catholic to withdraw his support from a separate school, together with a stipulation (similar to one

in force in the northern territories) that a company may require the whole or any part of its assessable land, subject to proportional rating, to be assessed for separate school purposes was noted; however, it was also pointed out that if a company did not so require, separate schools could not share in its taxes.

The paper then quoted extensively from the 'Hope Report' (Ontario Royal Commission on Education, 1950) in which the majority of the commissioners upheld the statutory right of those Catholics and Protestants who preferred to have their children educated in the public schools:

The right of those free citizens of Ontario must not be prejudiced or jeopardized by any legislative enactment...which would make it more difficult, or impossible, for them to exercise the right of full and unfettered freedom of election in the education of their children.

The commissioners also expressed concern about changes in the Act, which permitted the registration of Catholic ratepayers as separate school supporters "without any exercise of the individual power of election or choice." In this regard the commissioners recommended that no Catholic be so recorded unless he gave written notice. A brief from the Ontario Catholic Education Council (supported by four Catholic minority commissioners) which asked for an equitable division of corporation taxes prompted the majority commissioners to respond that those who wished to become supporters of separate schools must also voluntarily elect to assume a greater financial burden: "This is the price to be paid for the privilege of enjoying denominational schools."

In terms of corporation taxes both Alberta and Saskatchewan had

essentially the same formula, if a company required any part of its property to be assessed for separate school purposes, such assessment had to bear the same proportion of the issued stock of the company held by persons of the faith of the separate school. If a company did not require its property to be so assessed, its taxes were divided between the public and separate districts in shares corresponding with the total assessed value of property assessed to persons other than corporations. Unlike Saskatchewan which provided for voluntary determination of support and attendance, in Alberta, whenever a separate school district was established, the property of all of the minority faith therein were assessable for the support of the separate district and all children of parents of that faith were to attend the separate school.

Although the memorandum did not come out in favour of any particular system,¹⁶³ Catholic interests in Yellowknife were advised in early June that the commissioner viewed the Quebec and British Columbia legislation as extremes, believing the Alberta-Saskatchewan system, including the right of a taxpayer to choose the school of his support, to be the one to follow.¹⁶⁴ It remained to Connolly to convince those attending the forthcoming session of Council otherwise.

A draft copy of Connolly's proposed submission to Council was circulated among vicariate officials in late June. His main argument concerned the distribution of corporation taxes. Although section 93 of the BNA Act was a guarantee for the existence of schools, it was in effect a minimum guarantee contingent upon circumstances existing at the time of confederation. However, there was nothing to prevent

a province or council from dealing with separate schools more equitably. If a liberal approach was not made at the time of first enactment, financial and political problems would continue; on the other hand, if corporate taxes were distributed fairly, such problems would be minimized. In most provinces grants to public and separate schools were made on the basis of per capita attendance. The same formula should apply to the distribution of corporation taxes. It was therefore recommended that the basis for the distribution of corporation taxes should be that enjoyed by Protestant schools in Quebec.

In effect this system means that corporate taxes are paid into a fund, and are distributed in proportion to the number of pupils attending Separate Schools as against those attending Public Schools.

Connolly also appeared to favour "an election which enables R.C.'s to support separate schools if they so choose,"¹⁶⁵ a position strongly opposed by Lesage and Cormack, both of whom maintained that if a minority established a separate school, the obligation of support fell upon the whole minority.¹⁶⁶ It would appear, however, that unanimity on this point among the Catholic party was reached prior to the debate. It remained to be seen whether the same group would uphold Connolly's position on tax division, there being an indication that Hardie's opinion that an amendment to this effect be dropped until a more propitious time,¹⁶⁷ was gaining strength.¹⁶⁸

In his opening address on July 2, Commissioner Young announced that a completely revised school ordinance would be placed before Council.¹⁶⁹ As the session's votes and proceedings give only the

barest outline of the debate, it is difficult to reconstruct the proceedings; however, the bill, the resulting ordinance, an extensive report by J. Parker, and letters from several auditors at the meetings give a fair indication of what occurred. Bill No. 20, An Ordinance Respecting Schools, received first reading on July 3. After second reading on July 5, Council went into committee of the whole to hear representations from Messrs. Parker, Connolly, Henne, and Grogan, after which progress was reported.¹⁷⁰

One of the first points debated concerned the following question.¹⁷¹ If property was owned by a Protestant and occupied by a Roman Catholic, which district, the public or separate, should receive the school tax levy? After a lengthy discussion in which Parker upheld ownership and Connolly occupancy, an amendment in line with the former's arguments was passed on division. Another issue concerned clauses discontinuing the practice of permitting non-ratepayers the right to vote and hold office. The administration had decided to introduce this restriction because of the difficulties involved in establishing two board polls; however, after representations from both parties, an amendment was introduced allowing non-ratepayers to hold office. This arrangement helped the separate board, particularly in its early years, when it encountered problems in fielding a full slate of members.¹⁷²

As introduced in first reading, the bill contained a section which gave every ratepayer the right to support the public or separate school. However, before the bill was given second reading, it was forwarded to the Department of Justice to determine if any of its clauses violated section 10 of the Act. To the consternation of

those who doubted the validity of many of its sections, Justice took exception only to the ratepayer option clause; although in this instance its judgement was in accord with the church's position. In line with the administration's original stand, Parker contended that Council should adopt the option of an Ontario statute; notwithstanding the department's opinion, based on a Privy Council ruling some years before,¹⁷³ that legislatures constituted under the original territorial act did not have the authority to permit ratepayers to elect the school of their support. To Parker's dismay, Council "felt obliged to accept" the department's opinion and the offending clause was dropped.

In terms of corporation taxes, the draft bill contained clauses based substantially on the legislation of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Parker argued for the adoption of Ontario's system which permitted a corporation to pay separate schools a percentage of its school tax equal to the percentage of its shares "which it knows to be held by persons of the same religious persuasion as separate school supporters." While this method might favour the public over the separate school, it was nonetheless based on the "ownership of property," rather than on "the basis of the religion of other people in the community who may have nothing whatever to do with the corporation." Connolly maintained that the ownership of shares should be the basis of the division of school taxes so far as ownership could be determined, with the balance of the assessment being divided in proportion to the number of children attending public and separate schools. Despite the presentations of the two protagonists,

the section passed unamended. According to Parker, the assessable property of corporations other than those whose shareholders were entirely of either denomination would be entered on the rolls of the public school district which would pay the separate district an amount conforming to the ratio between non-corporate public and separate school supporters. In practice, however, the division became the responsibility of the Local Administrative District,¹⁷⁴ an arrangement favoured by Catholic schooling interests in Alberta who sometimes found public boards less than generous.¹⁷⁵

After minor changes, several clauses including one permitting agreements between boards for the education of Roman Catholic ratepayers were agreed to with a minimum of debate. Section 3 of the bill, which empowered the commissioner to make regulations on textbooks, teacher qualifications to name several, may have induced Audette to recommend that all such regulations be tabled before Council. Upon advice that this would require an amendment to the Interpretation Ordinance, Council agreed that this should be done at its next session. Apart from this none quarrelled with the commissioner's extensive powers; that is, until an attempt was made to grant him another.

During consideration of a clause on the language of instruction (section 136 of the old ordinance), Audette, whom Parker presumed to be "of French Canadian origin," stated that he felt that the matter of language of instruction should be included in the section on commissioner's regulations. To Parker the suggestion, agreed to on division, was "perhaps the most contentious point of all"; he

went on to say:

I had little doubt that if the matter was left to be settled by regulation [sic] pressure would in due course be put on the Commissioner to authorize French as the language of instruction in some of the settlements of the Northwest Territories. I have always felt that there should be one society in the Northwest Territories and not a French society and an English society. I have also felt, rightly or wrongly that the Roman Catholic church would be pleased to have solid blocks of French speaking people in the Northwest Territories because they could be controlled more easily if they did not mingle freely with the English speaking people.

During third reading the old language clause was reinstated, with an amendment permitting a primary course to be taught in Eskimo. On this occasion four of the six members in attendance voted in favour, with Hardie abstaining and Audette opposed.¹⁷⁶

The old sections on religious instruction were also left intact, with Audette voting against their retention and Hardie abstaining. Here again Parker was quite explicit about his support for existing provisions:

I felt reasonably sure that if this subject was not dealt with firmly it would not be long before the separate schools were devoting a good deal of the ordinary working day to the inculcation of religious dogma.

Near the end of his report Parker noted that, despite the recent plebiscite in which the citizens of Yellowknife indicated that they did not wish corporation taxes to be diverted, "our position" had not been supported by Hardie. He also regretted that he had not been able to secure for Catholic ratepayers the right to support whichever school they chose. Moreover, he had formed the opinion early in the debate that it was the Catholic church, not the Catholic ratepayers, which was anxious to secure "as complete control as possible over the destinies of Roman Catholic children"

in the territories. Hardie's position during the debate led Parker to conclude: "It is I think obvious that we should elect to Council persons who want to preserve our common school system."¹⁷⁷

On July 10 the bill, including a repeal of the old ordinances received third reading with four of the six members in attendance voting in favour, Audette in the negative and Hardie abstaining.¹⁷⁸ Later that day Council prorogued. Audette and Connolly left for their holidays soon after,¹⁷⁹ Parker and Grogan, in turn, returned to Yellowknife, where on July 22 they attended a special meeting of the public school board. After listening to Parker's report the members agreed that it should be published as a paid advertisement in the News of the North. The board after expressing its thanks to its representatives, decided that it should forward letters of thanks to "Young, Cunningham, Sievertz [sic], and Herbert."¹⁸⁰

The Catholic reaction to the new Ordinance was reserved. Connolly received letters from Trocellier, who expressed his "heartfeld thanks," and from Byrne, who noted that "many of the problems which we were confronted with in establishing a Catholic school were settled to our satisfaction."¹⁸¹ An Oblate witness to the debates, after praising Connolly and Audette, went on to state that their stand had the support of the prime minister.¹⁸² The editor of the News of the North, admitting that "we seem to have lost out in our battle against the establishment...of a Roman Catholic Separate School," expressed the hope that every effort would be made "to maintain that spirit of tolerance which has distinguished Yellowknife in the past." The editorial closed with the assurance:

The curriculum of the new school will be the same as that of the public school. The pupils must be prepared to pass the same departmental examinations - and the staff must get the approval of the same school inspector. 183

Such assurances were rankling to some; for instance, La Liberté et La Patriote (Winnipeg), nearly a year later, found the new territorial ordinance so "imparfaites et incomplètes" that "Il mériterait de subir le désaveu du gouverneur général en conseil."¹⁸⁴

St. Patrick's School. Following the passage of the Ordinance, the board, having ample time to finish the school for the fall of 1953, had two immediate tasks, arranging for teachers and attending to the assessment rolls, a crucial source of revenue. A widely held belief that the proposed school would not be Catholic unless it was under the direction of a teaching congregation,¹⁸⁵ not to speak of the savings involved,¹⁸⁶ prompted Trocellier to approach the sisters of St. Joseph in October 1951.¹⁸⁷ Nothing in the correspondence indicates if or why these sisters, who had been active in English Catholic separate schools in Ontario from the mid-nineteenth century, were given preference over the Grey Nuns; however, there is evidence to suggest that the parish wanted an English-speaking congregation.¹⁸⁸ About a year after the bishop's first visit to the mother house in London, it was finally agreed that two teaching sisters, a music teacher, and sister housekeeper would be sent.¹⁸⁹ Until their arrival in August 1953, there was considerable correspondence on the organization of the school, including the choice of a catechism and a Catholic reading series.¹⁹⁰ In September, an initial enrollment of 104 necessitated the hiring of a lay teacher;

the staff of three conducted classes in Grades I to IX. In a letter to the mother house in February 1954, the board chairman reported on the "overwhelming response" to the first publicly supported Catholic school in the territories; "the forerunner," it was hoped, "of many more." As the board planned to register Grade X students the following September, the letter continued, the congregation was asked to favour its plea for two additional teaching sisters.¹⁹¹

As the teaching sisters, regardless of qualifications or experience, were paid no more than the public school's minimum scale,¹⁹² their presence helped mitigate the financial problems confronting the separate board in its early years. Although the board had begun a review of the assessment rolls early in 1952, on February 4, on the understanding that the current arrangement with the public school would continue for another year, it asked the local administrative district to make no change in the assessment rolls.¹⁹³ The stand subsequently taken by the public board that it was required to levy tuition fees proved to be unexpected as well as expensive; but other than to resolve that the 1953 assessment rolls would be reviewed carefully, there was little the separate board could do. In the meantime assistance from another source was being contemplated, not necessarily on its behalf but of direct benefit nonetheless. Shortly after the new Ordinance passed, the administration advised a corporate officer in Yellowknife that in view of the section permitting the division of company taxes, plans were underway to raise the per pupil grant, not only to offset "the loss of revenue to the public school," but also to ensure "that the introduction of a new

school should not increase the taxes presently paid by mining companies."¹⁹⁴ In December prior to Council's third session, the administration calculated that the per pupil grants should be raised to \$150 and \$225.¹⁹⁵ Later that month the new schedule received Council's sanction.¹⁹⁶ As the increments were predicated on the separate board increasing its share of the assessment, it remained to be seen whether or not it would achieve levels justifying the new schedule.

From 1953 on, the separate board paid scrupulous attention to the rolls.¹⁹⁷ When it succeeded in having the status of some ratepayers changed, it was advised to submit a corrected list of supporters to the Court of Revision, only to be told by the latter that its method of presentation was incorrect. The board then appealed this decision to the local magistrate who, finding nothing in the Ordinances empowering him to hear the appeal, suggested the board petition the commissioner.¹⁹⁸ The commissioner, in turn, directed the board back to the local magistrate; an assignment which only led to further complications.¹⁹⁹ The matter was finally solved amicably when the public board offered to pay the separate board \$2,000 on the condition that no further changes be made in the 1953 poll. The separate board accepted this settlement,²⁰⁰ undertaking shortly thereafter a review of the 1954 assessment²⁰¹ which led to increased revenues the following year. Sections from the board's 1954 report indicate the degree of improvement:

- [1] The revenue from taxes
in 1953 was \$3,473.57
in 1954 will be \$11,877.82

- [2] Separate School supported property assessment
in 1953 was \$36,375.00
in 1954 is \$91,780.00
- [3] Separate School Portion of undeclared Corporate
Assessment.
in 1953 \$186,840.76
in 1954 \$525,063.63 202

The board's position improved each year thereafter. By 1960-1961 its share of undeclared corporation land assessment had risen from 17.7 per cent in 1954-1955 to 27 per cent, and from 10.3 per cent undeclared corporation business assessment in the same year to 15 per cent in 1961, while its share of the assessment increased from \$102,260 in 1954 to \$395,835 during the same period.²⁰³

Within a month of its opening, the administration received a complaint from a Yellowknife resident that the Catholic school was permitting prayers during the day and using a reader which contained religious references. The complaint evoked these comments from a member of the government on October 6. Although the commissioner was empowered to make regulations prescribing the text books for use in schools, he had not done so; moreover, that the readers contained material of a religious nature was hardly important, especially if one considered that they were being used in a Catholic school by Catholic teachers for Catholic students. As for the recitation of prayers, although the Ordinance permitted the Lord's Prayer to be said at the opening of class, it did not appear to limit "the prayers which may be recited otherwise."²⁰⁴ Two days later, the education division was advised to take immediate steps "to prepare an authorized list of textbooks for submission to the Commissioner."²⁰⁵ The prescribed list was issued at the end of the

month.²⁰⁶

The congregation's Spiritual Directory ruled that sister teachers were to give a half-hour's instruction in Christian doctrine each day, without specifying the time.²⁰⁷ According to a report of a field officer, the period of religious instruction at St. Patrick's was from 9 to 9:30 in the morning; apart from this, except for an occasional short prayer after recess, no formal religious instruction took place.²⁰⁸ In January 1954, a memorandum for all teachers was circulated which read in part:

Although the importance of religious instruction cannot be over-estimated, it is felt that the one-half hour previous to the closing of schools is most convenient for the majority.

"If sound reasons for having this instruction at another time..." were given, it would be possible, the statement concluded, to give consideration to changing the Ordinance.²⁰⁸ Representations to this effect were forthcoming from the separate board, but the section remained unchanged.²¹⁰ Further regulations issued by the commissioner on January 27,²¹¹ led the board to inform the administration that no provision had been made in regulation thirteen (days of attendance) for the observation of holy days.²¹² Interim arrangements were made by the board under a sub-section of the regulation to designate the Epiphany, Ascension, All Saints, and Immaculate Conception as non-teaching days.²¹³ On July 9, 1956, this practice was recognized in the regulations.²¹⁴ By this time, however, the board was pre-occupied by an attempt by the government to restrict the Catholic school's grade range from I to IX inclusive, with the children of all denominations in Yellowknife attending a consolidated vocational

high school which the government was planning to build in the community.²¹⁵

The School of Opportunity.

It will be recalled that reference to the Yellowknife vocational-high school project was made in Lesage's announcement of a "New Education Program for the Northwest Territories" in March 1955.²¹⁶ Ten years before, Moore had recommended that "a fully equipped Occupation Training Centre be established at Yellowknife as soon as possible." From his report it would appear that the occupational school, a residential institution primarily for native adults, would be separate from a modern junior-senior high school plant recommended for the settlement's public school.²¹⁷ Nonetheless Moore's report together with his evidence before a parliamentary committee in 1947 concerning a "school of opportunity" did much to initiate the idea of a central high school for the Mackenzie.²¹⁸ MacKinnon (the district's first school superintendent), suggested in November 1949 that the Yellowknife public school become a "School of Opportunity," by providing secondary and vocational schooling not only to pupils in Yellowknife, but also to senior students from other schools in the district.²¹⁹ Two months later Deputy Commissioner Gibson asked the sub-committee on education to consider the advisability of constructing a pupil residence beside the Yellowknife school that would accomodate high school pupils from other communities.²²⁰ At its next meeting the committee considered a report, prepared by two officers of the administration, which

recommended that no plans for a school residence be made, at least for the time being, as it appeared that there was an insufficient number of eligible pupils for such an undertaking.²²¹ Despite the shelving of the residence project, the idea of a school of opportunity continued to be promoted. In April 1951, Low (educational advisor to the territorial Council) recommended that a vocational centre be established at the Yellowknife public school so that "...it will be able to meet in the future, its obligations as a School of Opportunity in the Mackenzie District."²²² The same theme was repeated in August 1952 when a senior officer of the administration wrote McGruther about the provision of commercial educational facilities at the Yellowknife public school:

Your board will no doubt, recall that our original idea was that the Yellowknife Public School would also eventually serve as the "School of Opportunity" for the North, to which the more promising pupils from other schools in the Territories might be brought for their high school education. 223

Throughout the discussions on the pupil residence and the school of opportunity, the administration appeared unconcerned about the possibility of conflict with Catholic authorities over the question of Catholic senior pupils, native or white, attending a non-sectarian institution. Despite misgivings about the school of opportunity expressed by Trocellier²²⁴ and Lesage,²²⁵ Catholics generally did not view the proposal as a serious threat, if for no other reason than that there was no evidence, particularly after the separate school's establishment, of it coming into being. Other than to note, in July 1953, the presence of two government officials who were conducting a survey concerning "the introduction of an industrial

school here in Yellowknife," Ebner appeared unconcerned;²²⁶ in any event, he did not seem to relate their coming to Lesage's caution of 1951:

I wish that your Catholics bear in mind that any support they will give to the proposed school of Opportunity at Yellowknife for children from all over the Territories will be detrimental to the establishment of a similar school (Vocational training) in another settlement [Resolution] for Catholic pupils. 227

In June 1954, North Star (a Yellowknife monthly) reported that the Dogribs of Ettakai, an Indian village near Yellowknife, had asked Trocellier to build a pupil residence for their children next to St. Patrick's. According to the article the bishop had promised to do what he could.²²⁸ That fall the registration of four Grade X students at St. Patrick's prompted a departmental officer to note in a memorandum that he thought that there was general agreement "that the pupils taught in the Yellowknife Separate School would only include those pupils who were in Grades 1 to 9." When this memorandum was received by one of his superiors, the following notation was made: "Is there anything in writing to verify _____'s recollection? If not, I think we must let them teach what grades they want."²²⁹ In the meantime, the separate board, amidst talk of the government "erecting a Vocational school at Fort Simpson, or at Yellowknife," was planning an addition to its school: "Our wishes are that a High School with gymnasium, library, laboratories and two classrooms be built...."²³⁰ Many of these matters were undoubtedly discussed during the Trocellier-Marsh-Lesage meetings in January 1955.

Early in January, while admitting, upon reviewing the files, that there was no doubt that the separate school had the legal right to extend the teaching of high school grades as it wished, a senior officer of the administration affirmed:

It is equally clear that the Territorial government is not obligated to give financial assistance to the Separate School District if the extension of such teaching by that district leads to undesirable duplication of facilities and consequent wastage of public funds. 231

On February 27, in approving a request from the board for a loan of one-half the estimated cost of a \$40,000 addition of two classrooms and a science laboratory, Trocellier did not mention his discussion with Jean Lesage.²³² Immediately upon receiving the bishop's guarantee, the board advised Commissioner Robertson of its plans to add a wing to the existing school, asking for a government grant for one-half the cost.²³³ Robertson's response to the board has not been seen, but its substance can be surmised from the latter's reply of March 16, in which details were given of existing facilities, projected enrollments, and the fact that the public board was charging "\$600.00 to educate each child of a Catholic ratepayer in grades seven to twelve for whom we do not provide facilities."²³⁴ Robertson's next letter, which included the press release "New Education Program in the Northwest Territories," presented a proposal which notwithstanding its intent, presaged the inevitability of two rather than one senior secondary school in Yellowknife.²³⁵

Sir John Franklin. After referring to the proposed construction at Yellowknife of a hostel (Akaitcho Hall) to accomodate one hundred

students from the Upper Mackenzie, and a Vocational Training School (Sir John Franklin), Robertson wrote of his minister's hopes that the public and separate boards would agree to have their senior high students (Grades X to XII) schooled at Sir John Franklin.²³⁶ Shortly after the News of the North came out in favour of the government's proposal in an article headlined "Government to Pay Bills for Modern High School," which reassured its readers:

Nor should there be too much fear that the presence of native young people who have reached high school standards and who have passed the required departmental examinations to enter high school would have the effect of delaying any school work. These youngsters who come here to complete their high school education will be the cream of the crop. ²³⁷

There followed an exchange of correspondence between the separate board and the administration in which the former reiterated its request for a government grant for the proposed extension, without committing itself to the combined high school plan.²³⁸ On June 28 the commissioner referred to enrollment statistics in a letter from the board dated June 16:

It would appear from these figures that, even after we have subtracted the number of senior high school pupils, there will be a sufficient enrollment to justify the construction of a two-room addition to the Separate School.

As a result the administration was prepared to recommend to Council that the usual financial assistance be given; but, as it was that body's prerogative to decide whether or not funds would be granted, it was likely that some of its members would want to know the board's position on the consolidated high school plan before approving its request. The teaching of senior high school students in a single school had "clear advantages"; moreover, from the administration's

discussions with Trocellier, it was evident "that the questions of principle really arise, in his mind, in the lower grades." If the board decided, prior to the forthcoming session, that it was prepared to accept the common school arrangement, information to this effect would be helpful "when the matter of the financial grant for the present two rooms is in front of the Council."²³⁹

Expressing its appreciation for the commissioner's decision to place its request before Council, the board replied on July 11, stating that the consolidated proposal had "in reality nothing whatever to do with the Separate School system." The Lesage plan was designed "to work out an acceptable system for the non-ratepaying areas." If the separate school were to consider integrating its senior grades, it could only do so in terms of the following principles:

- (1) It must purport to surrender no rights;
- (2) It must preserve intact the very principles which dictated the formation of the district, namely the providing for Roman Catholic children that education which the parents are obliged in conscience to secure for them and the law itself protects.

The board was confident that Council would be "guided by the merits of our request, namely the need for pupil accomodation in a fully autonomous school district." Moreover, it did not think that an informed Council "would make the paying of a grant contingent upon our District accepting conditions which might mean abandoning the aforementioned principles."²⁴⁰ These principles were expanded in a memorandum on separate school rights,²⁴¹ which proved to be somewhat superfluous, as Council voted a \$23,000 appropriation for the addition

without debate.²⁴²

The administration was obviously troubled by the board's stand; in July 1955, for example, a senior departmental officer received a recommendation that the administration be equally unyielding:

If we do not draw this line, and stick to it, the time will undoubtedly come when...we will run into the same demand for subsidization of separate university facilities. I think it should be made quite clear that the separate school district is not being asked to surrender any rights; they can do what they like at their own expense. 243

As a decision had already been made to proceed with "the new Federal High School...regardless of whether they [the separate board] participate or not,"²⁴⁴ it remained to be seen whether either party would change its point of view in the interregnum between the fall of 1955 and the opening of Sir John Franklin three years later.

Shortly after one of the board's supporters was warned that "they [the administration] are trying to manoeuvre you into a position whereby your Separate School rights will be restricted to Grade school,"²⁴⁵ encouragement from Bishop Coudert (vicar apostolic of Whitehorse) was forthcoming. Yet Coudert's statement, together with the text of his address at the opening of Christ the King School in Whitehorse, proved that there was little in the Yukon which Catholic educational interests in the district would use to advantage; if anything, the position of separate schools in the Mackenzie was somewhat better.²⁴⁶

A month after receiving a lengthy questionnaire from the board concerning Sir John Franklin,²⁴⁷ the commissioner replied, answering

each question in detail. Insofar as the board was concerned, the following exchange was most significant :

4. Will the high schools now operating in the Northwest Territories under Territorial jurisdiction forfeit the right to construct and operate high schools should the Federal arrangement prove inadequate in any way? This is important to the Public School Board as well as to this Board.

Such high schools will not forfeit the right to construct and operate should the Federal arrangements prove inadequate. However, no financial assistance could be extended to such schools which would be established under the School Ordinance. 248

Referring to the above on May 1, 1957, the board, having received Trocellier's wholehearted endorsement of its stand to retain its "High school intact,"²⁴⁹ asked Robertson if the administration's position meant that it would refuse "the per pupil grant for operating as well as the termination of capital assistance in the construction of such [high] schools."²⁵⁰ Although the commissioner's answer did not refer specifically to capital grants, his comments on operating grants indicated that neither would be available with the opening of Sir John Franklin.

...The next question is whether the Council will be prepared to vote an operating grant to the Separate School in Yellowknife to teach pupils in Grades X to XII at a time when it will not be making any grant for such a purpose to the Public School and when it will be providing the complete financial support for a special school to provide education in Grades X to XII in the same locality. I think I would be less than frank if I did not say that I think that, in present circumstances, it is not at all certain that a majority in the Council would support such grants. 251

In July the board submitted a request to the administration for a \$25,000 capital grant for a two classroom addition. One room was needed immediately for Grades V and VI; the other was to meet the increased enrollment expected in the fall of 1958. The board's

application, which allocated one existing room for Grades IX to XI inclusive²⁵² (in line with a decision made in May to use a classroom in the original building for high school purposes only),²⁵³ was answered in August. Following an assurance that its submission would be placed before Council, the administration's acknowledgement did not question the continued use of one room for students beyond Grade IX, except for an oblique concluding statement:

The problem of additional school accomodation in Yellowknife will, of course, be affected in the higher grades by the new federal vocational training and high school which is to be opened there in September, 1958....²⁵⁴

The board reiterated its application in the fall of 1957. As for the presence of senior students at St. Patrick's, it was the board's opinion that it "would be several years before any one room of the original four room school would be filled to capacity with Grade 10, 11 and 12 students." Consequently its application for additional accomodation was for lower grades only.²⁵⁵ Of course, if St. Patrick's discontinued senior high instruction, it was possible that at least part of a classroom would have been available for other purposes, but this was not mentioned in the board's letter nor in an acknowledgement from the administration promising that the board's request would be placed before Council at its January 1958 session.²⁵⁶ On March 13, 1958, the board was formally advised that its application had been approved, on the understanding "that the addition was not required or necessitated by any decision of your School Board to continue instruction of classes in Grades 10, 11, and 12."²⁵⁷ To which the board replied that "the addition would be used exclusively to accomodate the expanded student population in the lower grades of

our school."²⁵⁸

With the completion of the addition, there would be sufficient accomodation for all grades. As there were only eight students beyond Grade IX in March 1958, and as the projected enrollment for Grades X to XII for September 1958 was only fourteen,²⁵⁹ there was no problem, in terms of space at least, in keeping a senior high class. There were, however, two issues which soon confronted the board in its resolve to maintain a publicly supported high school. First, the opening of Sir John Franklin, with its extensive facilities, would undoubtedly draw students away from St. Patrick's.²⁶⁰ That September the board's fears in this regard proved well-founded; only one student beyond Grade IX registered at St. Patrick's, the remainder together with all the Grade X to XII students from the public school went to Sir John Franklin.²⁶¹ The second issue concerned the administration's determination not to subsidize any senior student registering at St. Patrick's. The Grade XI student who remained at St. Patrick's for the entire school year presented the board with an opportunity to apply for a pupil grant on his behalf.²⁶² Despite a statement by the administration,²⁶³ subsequently reaffirmed by Council,²⁶⁴ that it would not support such an application, the board numbered the student's attendance with the others for grant purposes,²⁶⁵ only to be informed in November 1959 that "No grant is paid in respect of pupils above Grade 9."²⁶⁶ To say the least this decision was anticipated by the board.

A Catholic High School. By the spring of 1959, when it became

apparent that an all-out effort would have to be made to restore high school grants, the board planned to present a brief to Council during its meeting at Chesterfield in July, but because its case was insufficiently prepared, its representations were postponed until Council's next session, scheduled for Ottawa early in 1960.²⁶⁷ With an unequivocal expression of support for "the continued growth of our Catholic education facilities throughout the north especially on the Highschool level"²⁶⁸ from Bishop Piché, Trocellier's successor, the board set to work with the assistance of Cormack and others, to have Council reverse its stand. In the meantime, nine students registered in Grades X to XII at St. Patrick's in September 1959,²⁶⁹ hardly a convincing number, but enough to satisfy the board that a matriculation program was possible, notwithstanding a suggestion in an inspector's report (November 1959), that "the advisability of continuing instruction in these two grades [eleven and twelve] should be considered."²⁷⁰

In December 1959 the board informed the commissioner that it planned to submit a brief concerning high school grants to the next session of Council.²⁷¹ A request that its delegation be heard on the matter was evidently well-received, as Council devoted the morning of January 13 to Cormack, who took about an hour presenting the brief, and to Byrne, who spoke at length on the school's background and its role in the community.²⁷²

After briefly reviewing government subsidies to the separate school, including the arbitrary way in which capital grants were provided the separate board vis à vis its public counterpart,

Cormack challenged Council's decision not to pay further grants for high school students because it felt "that the Separate School District should avail itself of the services of the Federal School at Yellowknife...." Citing per pupil expenditures from 1953 to 1957, Cormack maintained that the proven costs of educating children at the separate school were lower than that of the public district, and while figures were not available on the cost of educating children at Sir John Franklin, it was assumed that they were not as low as the separate school's. As for the contention that a higher standard of education would be provided at the Franklin school, Cormack referred to the dissenting report of the Alberta Royal Commission on Education, which held that the Alberta system was wasteful, both in money and the talents of the children. An academic program, he contended, could be provided, "in any small school"; the minority report, in fact, even suggested "that large schools do not aid giving the child the proper type of education it requires." Thus, if the territorial government were to reassess its educational aims and objectives, it might well decide "that in an academic program the Separate School and the Public School could more than adequately provide the type of education for the children that is best for them."

The brief then reviewed section 36 of the School Ordinance, section 13 of the Northwest Territories Act, and section 93 of the British North America Act, indicating, in turn, that the government's refusal to pay grants in support of the separate school's right to educate its children at the elementary and high school level was an

infringement of this prerogative, which had never been abdicated; and was not in keeping with the intent or spirit of the law.

Article twenty-six of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was also cited: "Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education which shall be given to their children," as was the generous support given by the government of the United Kingdom to denominational schools.

While the administration was not disputing the right of the separate school district to provide high school facilities, it was difficult to understand how Council expected the district to provide such facilities unless it received financial assistance from the government. To suggest that high school facilities were available to separate school children in a neutral school was "an unwarranted interference with the right of the Separate School District to provide high school facilities for its children as it sees fit." As nothing in section 6 of the Ordinance empowered the commissioner to arrange for the education of children within a school district, it appeared that he did not have the authority to assume responsibility for the education of senior high school pupils for the public board; consequently for him to enter into an agreement with the separate board would merely compound the error. Nonetheless this arrangement might provide a formula, as Council should pay grants to the separate school district for the education of its children, such an amount should be equal to what was being provided the public district, namely, the per pupil cost of educating high school children at Sir John Franklin.²⁷³

Following their presentation, which according to one report was known to be appreciated by at least one appointed and several elected members, the delegates were told that their application would be given further consideration by the committee on estimates. Both Cormack and Byrne left Ottawa before June 19,²⁷⁴ when W. Brown (deputy commissioner) in Robertson's absence, and an assistant, R. Bishop, reviewed correspondence between the boards and the administration concerning the federal high school. Just before Nicholson, an appointed member rose, Brown made it known that Coudert had asked the Yukon Council for grants for high school pupils, and that that body had asked its commissioner to establish a special commission to investigate the educational system of the Yukon. The deputy then suggested that the administration might prepare a paper on grants to separate high schools for submission to Council at a later date. Hardie, who had come from Parliament to listen to the debate, viewed Brown's statement as providing "the out they were all looking for"²⁷⁵

Nicholson began by stating that while he opposed the establishment of separate schools in principle, he recognized the right of minority groups to such schools. Regretting that the separate board had not taken advantage of the federal school arrangement, he took up Brown's recommendation asking that there be an "investigation" to determine: (1) the degree of support among Catholic ratepayers for a separate school; (2) a comparison of what the approximate cost per pupil would be in the federal high

school before and after the establishment of a separate high school; and (3) whether or not the next step would be a separate high school for all Catholic pupils irrespective of residency. He also thought that the board should be advised that Council hoped there would be no separation in high school grades, and that the administration should state that although it recognized the right to separate schools, the question of assistance was a matter of policy and not a right. The four elected members had little to say. Lang and Porritt favoured an investigation. Gall thought that the separate school should be given high school grants for a year only, giving the administration time to conduct its investigation. While Goodall thought that the investigation should not be in the form of a commission, similar to the one planned for the Yukon, he was told by the deputy commissioner that if the administration's report was not acceptable, Council might consider having an independent commission investigate the whole question. The committee then decided that until such time as a report was available, "action on the matters raised in the Brief should be deferred."²⁷⁶

On March 9, about a month after receiving a note from Robertson stating that pending study, there would be no change in grants, Byrne pointed out that the board's thinking was "based on the 'liabilities' as well as the 'rights' of separate school districts which is clearly stated in Section 36 (1)."

After the establishment of a separate school district under the provisions of this Ordinance such separate school district and the board thereof shall possess and exercise all rights, powers, privileges, and be subject to the same liabilities and method of government as is herein

provided in respect of public school districts. 277

To Byrne, the obvious interpretation of the section was that separate schools had the liberty to maintain their schools in accordance with the law, to exercise their managerial rights, and to administer such schools in such a way as to preserve the culture and religion of the minority.

How the line can be drawn by Council at Grade IX as a cut off for grants to separate schools and have no compunction in granting financial assistance through all grades to public schools is beyond our interpretation of our financial obligations as set forth in Section 36 (1).²⁷⁸

Later that month the board reiterated its position to the commissioner. If Council subscribed to the right of separate schools in principal, and if the expression of one of the most essential freedoms of democracy was the existence of such schools, it was the board's argument that it was "only a 'theoretical' freedom if the right to implement it is denied in whole or in part through the denial of financial grants."²⁷⁹

In late March, after receiving a copy of sessional paper 1A (an outline of Council's discussion of January 19), the board wrote the commissioner questioning the "investigation" and "Mr. Nicholson's summary of the Committee discussions" as well as to express its regret that the paper had not been made available earlier.²⁸⁰ Robertson advised that no formal investigation had been undertaken; in his opinion anything of this kind would be "premature," instead he had directed the administration to compile statistical information which might be helpful to Council. This data together with copies of a memorandum (vide Appendix J) entitled "Financial Grants to Separate

Schools" submitted by the board, would be circulated to members of Council.²⁸¹ The board forwarded information on high school enrollment projections on May 24, and on Catholic property assessment on June 1.²⁸² As it understood that a decision "on the question of re-establishing financial grants for the Catholic high school at Yellowknife" would be made by Council at Resolute in July, the board expressed the hope on June 22 that "Council will take this opportunity to make an outstanding contribution to history by recognizing the full rights of religious minorities in this regard."²⁸³

The question of grants was brought before Council on July 14 during consideration of sessional paper No. 7.²⁸⁴ Shortly after the discussion began, Nicholson rose to read a statement (prompted largely by the separate board's criticism of his remarks at the previous session) in which he outlined his views on separate schools, asking that it be published as a sessional paper (vide Appendix K). He was followed by Robertson who affirmed that the right of a religious group to establish a separate school was not in question, nor was there any doubt as to the propriety of Council paying grants to such schools. Although it had been hoped that the people of Yellowknife would take advantage of Sir John Franklin School, the strong desire for "separate education in all grades that was obviously held by people of the Catholic faith," together with the fact that high school grants had been paid the separate school in the past, led the commissioner to the conclusion that it would be difficult "to maintain the present policy of no assistance to the separate high school," or to other schools similarly established. "In discussion, the members of the Committee made it clear that they were all of the

same view." Once it was agreed that St. Patrick's would be eligible for high school grants, the discussion moved to what the amount should be, with Council deciding that the existing grant for junior high pupils, namely \$250, would apply.²⁸⁵

The Spiritual Directory of the sisters of St. Joseph, for example, cited Council's decision as "a most important achievement since it set a precedent for Catholic High Schools in the Territories";²⁸⁶ while Coudert saw it as a "victory," which, among other things, heralded a like outcome in the Yukon.²⁸⁷ The board received official notification of the restoration of grants on August 2.²⁸⁸ In an acknowledgement it asked if capital grants to high schools would also be made available.²⁸⁹ On being advised that they would,²⁹⁰ the board, after receiving an assurance that a substantial vicariate subsidy would be forthcoming,²⁹¹ proceeded to plan a new secondary school (grades seven to twelve), costing \$237,000, on a site near Sir John Franklin.²⁹²

On November 24, 1961, the new Catholic high school was officially opened by Bishop Piché who, as principal speaker, praised the stand taken by the administration: "May our Territorial Government always follow this policy!"²⁹³ Robertson spoke on the history of separate schools, saying that their existence in the territories was an indication of the spirit of the Catholic people and the tolerance of others.²⁹⁴ It is not unlikely, however, that among the more ardent separate school supporters present, there were some who still had misgivings about the school's future. A disinterested laity, an

indifferent clergy, a fall in assessment, an end to diocesan subsidies, any one or a combination of these could lead to a reduction in the scope, or even to the closing, of the school. Then, too, there was the ever present possibility that the administration or Council, or both, would have second thoughts about separate schools, and move to bring about their end.²⁹⁵

2. The Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School District

Reference has already been made to Hay River (incorporated as a municipal district in 1953) which rated next to Yellowknife as an entrepreneurial centre.²⁹⁶ From 1951 to 1961 the population nearly doubled with the census listing 1,334, of whom 613 were Roman Catholic.²⁹⁷ Cohen described the community "as a frontier town...with a dominant white majority, and an Indian minority whose socio-economic status maintains and widens the gap between the two groups";²⁹⁸ Slobodin noted a similar but less pronounced separation between whites and Métis.²⁹⁹ One of the distinguishing elements between the native and white groups was the Catholicity of the former, a not insignificant factor confronting the church in its attempt to win the support of the white Catholic minority for confessional schooling arrangements.³⁰⁰

As Trocellier's attempts to establish a Catholic school in Hay River under the aegis of the Indian Affairs Department have already been discussed in detail, it will suffice to recall that he was not

successful in obtaining what he wanted either from that agency or from the Northern Administration Branch which assumed responsibility for schooling in the settlement in 1951.³⁰¹ As events in other settlements, notably Yellowknife in the early 1950's and the communities referred to in the Lesage plan of 1955 largely pre-occupied Catholic schooling interests, the situation in Hay River was left in abeyance, in keeping with Father Lesage's advice in late 1951 that the parish move to establish a separate school "as soon as it becomes feasible."³⁰² During 1952 the parish bulletin referred to meetings of a local chapter of the Catholic Education Association, but this group seemed disbanded by 1954; in fact the November 1954 issue of "Church Bells" appeared content with the local school (directed by a Catholic principal),³⁰³ whose enrollment was about equally divided between the two religious sectors.³⁰⁴

In the fall of 1955 Lesage wrote a colleague in Hay River about "les réclamations de la population indienne catholique pour une école séparée...". Because Catholics had tacitly accepted a neutral school, the Indian request would scarcely be heard. The best solution, he contended, would be for "toute la population catholique de la R-au-Foin" to ask for a separate wing similar to those planned for Aklavik and Simpson, whenever there was an indication that there would be an addition to the existing school. However nothing was possible unless there was greater interest on the part of the parishioners. "Mgr. [Trocellier] ne peut non plus forcer ce système si les catholiques eux-mêmes [sic] sont opposés, divisés, indifférents. C'est le cas de la R-au-Foin."³⁰⁵

There is no indication that any action was taken on Lesage's suggestion, if for no other reason than that an opportunity to promote a separate Catholic annex did not present itself until January 1960, when Council approved a \$200,000 classroom and renovation appropriation for Hay River.³⁰⁶ The church had already given notice in November 1959 that it wished to secure land for a Catholic school and teacherage.³⁰⁷ A parish census taken about this time recorded that of the 258 pupils enrolled at the federal school, 132 were Catholic of whom nineteen were white, thirty Indian, and eighty-three Métis.³⁰⁸ Hesitant "about leasing land for a school which may not be built for some time," the administration suggested that the property be held from disposal instead.³⁰⁹ Piché replied that the Catholics in Hay River were considering establishing a separate school; but that this project could certainly be postponed:

...If your Department accepts the organization, next September, of three class-rooms for the R.C. pupils in the lower grades which are to be doubled on account of the numbers of pupils in these grades; also if Catholic teachers are appointed for class-rooms in which Catholic pupils are in the majority. 310

Discountenancing this possibility a senior departmental officer pointed out that the arrangements which provided for separation at Smith, Simpson and Inuvik resulted from a consolidation of existing schools, including parochial ones; and as these circumstances did not prevail in Hay River, the government felt that the provision of denominational facilities there out of general revenues and taxes would, among other things, leave it open to sharp criticism. A more satisfactory solution would be to establish a separate school, providing, of course that certain problems presented by the existing ordinances

were overcome.³¹¹ Piché could not have agreed more; writing the department on July 6, he advised that a visit to Hay River had convinced him that if enabling legislation were enacted, the Catholics would be willing to proceed with the building of their own school. In anticipation of this, he suggested that the addition to the federal school either be delayed or that it be built on the property held for a separate school for future purchase by a separate board.³¹² Two days later he was informed that an amendment would be put before Council.³¹³

An Amendment to the School Ordinance.

At the eventful meeting of Council at Resolute in July, when high school grants to St. Patrick's were restored, bill no. 9 was introduced:

[Repeal] 32. The minority of the ratepayers in any district whether Protestant or Roman Catholic may establish a separate school therein and in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate school shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.

[substitute therefor] 1 32 (1) The Protestant ratepayers or the Roman Catholic ratepayers residing within

(a) a district, or

(b) a portion of the Territories no part of which is in a district and which does not exceed five miles in length or breadth, may by petition to the Commissioner establish therein a separate school.

(2) The ratepayers establishing a separate school under subsection (1) shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect of the separate school.

(3) The Commissioner may vary the size of the portion of the Territories which may be erected into a separate school district where in his opinion the circumstances warrant such action.

[repeal] 34. The persons qualified to vote for or against the erection of a separate school district shall be the ratepayers in the district of the same religious faith, Protestant or Roman Catholic, as the petitioners.

[substitute therefor] 34. The persons qualified to vote for or against the erection of a separate school district are the ratepayers ordinarily resident within the area described in the petition who are of the religious faith, Protestant or Roman Catholic, indicated in the name of the proposed district. 314

The significance of this alteration cannot be overestimated. Heretofore a Roman Catholic minority could not set up a separate school unless a public district existed, nor could a separate school be established by a Catholic majority. Subject to the bill's passage, Catholics could move to have their own schools anywhere in the territories providing they were subject to some form of assessment and were ready to assume any other financial obligations. In an immediate sense, it meant that an initiative on the part of the Catholic minority in Hay River to have their own school could not be quelled by the inaction of the majority ratepayers. In the long term, it meant that Catholic ratepayers, whether few or many, could withdraw almost at will from the federal system, taking their non-taxpaying co-religionists with them, providing they had sufficient funding. In this connection, the government's contribution to separate schools, rather than the amendment itself, seemed to be Council's main preoccupation during the ensuing debate.

At the time of second reading the commissioner said that there were "two anomalies" in the existing ordinance requiring correction:

- (1) the wording of the Ordinance implied that only a minority could establish a separate school, suggesting a majority could not do so if it wished.
- (2) The Ordinance referred only to the 'ratepayers' of the school district; this could be taken to mean a separate school could not be established unless a public school district had first been set up.

According to the proceedings of the session, Nicholson seemed the

only councillor having reservations about the bill, and as these involved the possibility of separate schools imposing an undue financial burden upon public school supporters, Council agreed that his remarks pertained to sessional paper no. 7 (territorial school grants), and readily passed the bill in committee without amendment.³¹⁵

During a review of paper no. 7, the inclusion of high school grants for a separate school in Hay River, a projection of eleven in 1960-61 to twenty in 1964-65, did not lead to any recorded observations.³¹⁶ Of concern was the amount of the per pupil grants, the consensus being that they be based on a "fixed amount per pupil per year irrespective of taxation or actual local cost," rather than having them predicated on a fixed proportion of costs incurred in any district.³¹⁷ Reference was made to Piche's letter of July 6 and to the suggestion that the proposed addition to the federal school be built on land reserved for the separate school, permitting the separate school to purchase the building later. This proposal was not well received; although it led to a recommendation by the administration that federal school extension be postponed until the separate school supporters had organized themselves, after which the requirements of both schools could be assessed.³¹⁸ On July 16 the committee recommended that grants to separate schools be at the rate of \$175 (Grades I to VI) and \$250 (Grades VII to XII).³¹⁹ With this decided, bill no.9, on a motion by Nicholson, seconded by R. Porritt (whose constituency included Hay River) was given third reading.³²⁰

The Establishment of a Separate School in Hay River

Immediately upon his return to Ottawa, the commissioner wrote

Piche:

...Council did accept it [the amendment to the School Ordinance] in precisely the form in which it was put forward. There is therefore no legal impediment on any action of this kind that the Roman Catholic people at Hay River may wish to take. 321

Following a meeting of Catholic ratepayers in Hay River attended by the bishop , the commissioner received a petition for the establishment of a separate school.³²² And while the administration was concerned about the assessment base (not more than \$2,400 could be raised annually at the maximum mill rate),³²³ assurances from Piché that funds would be available from the episcopal corporation, as well as other sources, to meet the district's share of expenditures appeared to reduce these qualms.³²⁴ A ratepayers' meeting was held on November 27, when all eleven present voted in favour of having a separate district, with W. McBryan, W. Weselowski, and H. Guimont selected as trustees.³²⁵ As several of the attesting documents related to the establishment were incomplete, there was a delay in according the board official recognition; however, these were overcome with a minimum of difficulty and on March 31, 1961, the commissioner formally proclaimed the erection of the Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 3.³²⁶

In the meantime the board had begun plans for St. Paul's School, on the understanding that its expense would be shared equally by the administration and the episcopal corporation.³²⁷ The school's initial cost estimate, eight classrooms and a gymnasium, was \$200,000 (one-half of which was approved by Council in January 1961);³²⁸ however, a subsequent calculation indicated that the estimate was too low, with

the accepted tender amounting to \$251,985.³²⁹ Despite a fire during construction, work proceeded almost on schedule, allowing the school to open in the fall of 1962 with an enrollment of 176 pupils.³³⁰

Although the administration was concerned about the provision of high school grades at St. Paul's, nothing in its correspondence suggested that the board should not make arrangements for such instruction or that grants for this purpose would be withheld. According to a senior official, the department wanted to know the board's plans in order that neither school would have "unneeded accomodation." In a departmental review of the board's preliminary building plan, it was pointed out that the school seemed to have the necessary facilities for Grades I to IX; however, if the board intended to offer higher grades as well, it would be desirable to have additional facilities, including an enlarged home economics room, as well as instructional areas for science and industrial arts. Should the board decide not to give instruction at the senior secondary level, its students could attend the federal school at no cost to the board.³³¹ Following two requests from the administration for information on its plans,³³² the board, which had hitherto answered the question of senior high school arrangements to the effect that they would be made in accordance with the wishes of parents,³³³ finally informed the commissioner that it would "assume all responsibility for children from Grades One to Twelve inclusive," relieving "the Department of responsibility for the same." Consideration as to how the board would meet this responsibility would take place "in the coming months."³³⁴

It is not known whether the board considered sending its senior

pupils to Akaitcho Hall (the federal student residence in Yellowknife) which would enable them to attend St. Patrick's; in any event, the administration had already ruled out this possibility a year before.³³⁵

When St. Paul's opened in 1962, there were two students in Grade X and seven in Grade XII; a year later there were three, two, and five in Grades X, XI, and XII respectively.³³⁶ Hence, like its counterpart in Yellowknife, the Hay River board elected for complete separation.

Events in Yellowknife, not to speak of the resistance to the Lesage plan, undoubtedly had much to do with the ease with which the Hay River district was established. However, even though its coming into being, as one Oblate put it, was accomplished "sans bataille,"³³⁷ events proved that it was too soon to declare a victory. The board, after operating the school for nine years with substantially the same local taxation revenues available to it initially, finally yielded by closing St. Paul's at the end of June 1970.³³⁸

1. Ordinance, c.75, c.105, (1905); c.18 (1952).
2. Ibid., c.75, c.105, c.106 (1905).
3. Ibid., c.106, s.6, (1905).
4. "The School Grants Ordinance"(c.106 [1905]) was repealed on October 8, 1947. Minutes, XIV. Grants to mission schools were continued under the authority of Appropriation Ordinances.
5. Ibid., c.75, s.41-45, (1905).
6. Vide supra, 281.
7. Vide supra, 336.
8. For a review of Yellowknife's early years, vide supra, 137 and 299.
9. "Schools in the N.W.T." [memorandum for Council] April 24, 1944, TAU.
10. "Classification of Pupils in Schools of the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories as of March 31, 1951," TAU.
11. At its meeting on June 28, 1946, Council approved a grant of \$50,000 for a six-room school in the new townsite. Minutes, XIV, 3284.
12. "To date, the Northwest Territories Administration has provided the sum of \$201,000 for the construction of the new school building at Yellowknife. The official progress report shows that this sum had been expended as of March 31, 1948. Accounts outstanding, over and above the original grant of \$210,000 involved a total of \$8,749.92 and it was assumed that there might be a few more accounts of which the administration has no record at the present time. A general discussion followed after Council approved an additional grant of \$10,000 from the Liquor Fund toward the cost of the new buildings." Minutes, April 28, 1948, excerpt quoted in NANR 630/100-1, 221 PAC.
13. The original school, including a 1947 addition, is estimated to have cost about \$10,000. Of this amount, \$5,500 was contributed by Council, \$3,780 was raised through donations, leaving the remainder, about \$1,000, as the Board's direct responsibility. Minutes, August 13, 1940, 2400; ibid., April 6, 1943, 3070; News of the North, March 16, 1961.
14. The Department of Indian Affairs contributed \$10,000, or approximately one-half the cost of the mission school at

Providence, AGR 1930, I - 43 - 45, 1931, I - 37; ibid., 1932, I - 39; Breynat, III, 395-396. The territorial government paid \$3,000 toward the building of a mission school in Smith, which cost \$7,500. Doyle (departmental officer) to Cumming (departmental officer), September 5, 1946, NANR 630/100-3-220, PAC.

15. Based on data gathered by MacKinnon in August and September 1946, the enrollments of the three schools were as follows: Yellowknife - 141, Smith - 71, and Simpson - 16. MacKinnon (1947), passim. When these enrollments are divided into federal allowances of \$3,000 (Yellowknife), \$1,538 (Smith), and \$738 (Simpson) the per pupil subsidies amounted to \$21, \$22, and \$46 respectively. Minutes, June 28, 1946, XIV, 3284; Doyle to Cumming, July 30, 1946, 630/100-3, 220 PAC; Commissioner to Gilles (bursar) August 29, 1952, PAC.
16. The comparison is based on federal subsidies noted in n.15 above and the estimated \$23,000 return from school taxes in Yellowknife for the period July 1946 to June 1947. Minutes, June 28, 1946, XIV.
17. As of March 31, 1950 the enrollments of the three schools were as follows: Yellowknife - 216, Smith - 69, and Simpson - 14. "Classification of Pupils," March 31, 1950, TAU. The comparison is based on federal subsidies of (\$125 [Gr. I-VI] x 181) 200 (VII-XI) x 35 = \$29,825 to Yellowknife (Low, 55), \$3980 to Smith and \$2860 to Simpson, or \$138, \$58, and \$205 respectively. Low 55; Neary to Gilles, March 15, 1948 630/100-3, 220 PAC.
18. The comparison is based on the school tax figure of \$41,350 taken from Yellowknife School District No. 1 (Estimates 1950-1951), May 16, 1950, revised August 29, 1950, Ebner Papers.
19. Census of Canada, 1951, I, 41-93.
20. MacKinnon to Gibson (deputy commissioner) May 3, 1948, 630/100-1, 221, PAC.
21. In 1949, E. A. Totze (secretary-treasurer of the Yellowknife School Board) advised the territorial administration that there were fifteen to twenty Indian children within the District requiring education, but no facilities were available for these children in the public school as it was filled to capacity. He also noted the board's recommendation: "that the Federal government supply a building and teachers for these children so that they can later attend the Yellowknife Public School." Quoted in Grantham (departmental officer) to Le Capelain (director, Northern Administration Branch), November 28, 1949,

630/105-1, III, 323 PAC. "The general attitude is against having Indian children in the [public] school until such time as they can compete with the white children. _____ (Indian agent) to _____ (Indian Affairs official), February 19, 1951, 139/25-2, IAO. There were twenty five Indian children in Yellowknife in March 1951 not attending school. Same to same, March 1, 1951, ibid.

22. In the fall of 1949, Council's sub-committee on education recommended that a separate school for Indian children be built in Yellowknife, SOE, November 16, 1949, 4. Shortly thereafter MacKinnon made the same recommendation to Indian Affairs Branch. MacKinnon to Neary (director of Indian Affairs). Quoted in Grantham to Le Capelain, November 28, 1949, 630/105-1, III, 323, PAC. At a meeting in January 1950, MacKinnon, a representative from Indian Affairs, and members of the Yellowknife School Board agreed that the Yellowknife school "designed primarily for whites is not suitable for at least the first few years of the schooling of native children....This must not be confused with discrimination." Although the Yellowknife school would not provide special educational facilities for native children, "advanced native children" would be "welcome[d]." "Several Aspects of the Problem of Treaty Indians and Métis who Follow the Native Way of Life," Statement of Policy on Matters of Long-Range Planning of School Affairs (Yellowknife School District No. 1), ibid., January 3, 1950.
23. Low, 24.
24. The board recommended at a meeting in early January 1950 that an Indian school be started. The main point of discussion at its meeting, however, was a proposed six-room addition. News of the North, January 6, 1950.
25. Council had already given support in the form of an \$100,000 loan, subject to debenture, for an addition to the school on June 7, 1950. Minutes, XX, 3812. The debenture was not raised; however, on January 19, 1951, Council was advised by the Board that it wished to construct the addition at a cost of \$230,000, to be financed by a 60 per cent grant and a 40 per cent loan from the territorial government. Ibid., February 15, 1951, XX, 3892.
26. Ibid; Audette to Trocellier, February 15, 1951, AVM.
27. Letter of Father Ebner to investigator, January 10, 1966.
28. SOE, October 16, 1947, 1-2.
29. Plourde to Trocellier, March 16, 1948, 60-1, COOI.
30. Kindervater to Lesage, July 22, 1949, LP.

31. _____ (Oblate official, Ottawa) to Ebner, October 26, 1951, Ebner Papers. Cited hereinafter as EP. Another example is underlined in a letter to him from Audette:
Je merends bien compte que mon action précipitée au Conseil va peut-etre présenter de graves problèmes pour vous...Je regrette si j'ai hâté des événements qui vous auriez peut-être voulu retarder pour de bons motifs qui me sont inconnus. Audette to Trocellier, February 16, 1951, 2, AVM.
32. Apart from the parish unit itself, there appeared to be no committee prepared to initiate a petition or to proceed with the organization of a separate school district prior to Audette's announcement. According to Father Ebner, "the question [of a separate school] came up in conversation fairly often, although it was never discussed formally: If I recall correctly it may have come up at the C.W.L. [Catholic Women's League] meeting, when it would be asked why we didn't have a school, or how good it would be to have one." Letter of Father Ebner to investigator, January 10, 1966.
33. Audette to Trocellier, February 16, 1951, AVM.
34. Trocellier to Audette, February 20, 1951, ibid.
35. Questionnaire, February 1951, EP.
36. Reference to Ballot in "Progress Report to Catholic Electors," May 9, 1952, 1, ibid.
37. It should be noted that the questionnaire was distributed to all Catholic electors, the majority of whom were non-ratepayers. Questionnaire packet, February 1951, ibid.
38. Ebner to Audette, March 1, 1951, ibid.
39. Trocellier to Lesage, March 5, 1951, LP.
40. Administration school returns used ethnic categories only until March 31, 1953, when the religious affiliation of pupils was also given. "Classification of Pupils in Schools of the Mackenzie District of the N.W.T. as of March 31, 1953," TAU. The number of Catholic pupils at the Yellowknife Public School in March 1951 is based upon a compilation prepared by Father Lesage. "Religious Affiliation of Pupils in Schools of the Northwest Territories," Spring 1951, LP.
41. Note was made of Trocellier's assurance of support for the separate school at a meeting of the Catholic Taxpayers' Committee (vide infra, n.63) on March 18, 1951. Notes of Meeting, March 18, 1951, EP.

42. Byrne, "Progress Report to Catholic Electors," May 9, 1952, EP.
43. The referendum ballot was distributed by the "Catholic Electors' Committee" (February 1951, EP); by March 4, however, the same group was known as the "Catholic Taxpayers' Committee." Committee Minutes, March 4, 1951, ibid.
44. Ebner, Minutes of Interview with R. Wheeler and J. Parker (Yellowknife public school board), March 6, 1951, 1-3, ibid.
45. Ebner, "Interview with Mr. Wright," March 10, 1951, 1, ibid.
46. Ebner to Young, March 11, 1951, ibid.
47. Ebner, Minutes of Interview with Mr. C. White and Mr. McGruther, (Yellowknife public school board), March 11, 1951, 1-3, ibid.
48. News of the North, March 2, 1951.
49. The number of Roman Catholics in Yellowknife was 1,058 of a total population of 2,734. Census of Canada, 1951, I, 41-93.
50. Editorial, News of the North, March 2, 1951.
51. Gathy to Ebner and Lesage, March 16, 1951, EP.
52. News of the North, March 16, 1951.
53. Ebner, "Notes of Interview Between Mr. J. Parker and G. Wheeler, Representing the Public School Board, and Father Ebner and Mr. Byrne." March 6, 1951, EP. Later that month Ebner was formally notified that there was time available for religious instruction in the public school. M. O. King (secretary-treasurer, Yellowknife school board) to Ebner, March 29, 1951, ibid.
54. Ebner, "Interview with Mr. C. White and Mr. K. McGruther and Father Ebner," March 11, 1951, 1, ibid. McGruther and White's proposal reflected the attitude of the territorial Council at its meeting on February 15, 1951, when it was decided that the public school addition should not be approved "...unless there was some assurance that all denominations would use the same school for the next five years..." Minutes, February 15, 1951, XX, 3892.
55. News of the North, March 9, 1951, the proposal that there be a common school with Catholic and non-Catholic wings became very significant in later discussions. (Vide infra, 522).
56. Ebner to Young, March 11, 1951, EP.
57. Young to Ebner, March 16, 1951, ibid.

58. Audette to Trocellier (care of Father Ebner, Yellowknife), March 16, 1951 (copy), ibid.
59. Hardie to Ebner, March 16 (?), 1951, LP. M. Hardie was elected to the territorial Council as the first member for Mackenzie North in 1951. ARDRP 1952, 62.
60. Gathy to Ebner, March 16, 1951, EP.
61. Renaud to Trocellier, March 16, 1951, AVM. Renaud's position is outlined in an undated memorandum by Father S. Lesage entitled "Compromis Soumis. Par M. Young," LP. In a letter dated March 29, Trocellier stated that Renaud thought the scheme "pis-aller," an evaluation shared by the bishop. Trocellier to Ebner and Gathy, March 21, 1951, EP.
62. Vide supra, n.60.
63. "Minutes of Catholic Ratepayers' Meeting," March 18, 1951, ibid. It will be noted that the term taxpayer had been changed to ratepayer, which was in accord with references in the Ordinances.
64. Ebner to Young, March 22, 1951, ibid.
65. "School Compromise Feasible," (editorial); "Government Offers Solution to Problem of Having Two Schools and Auditorium Gym," News of the North, March 23, 1951.
66. Information on the board's meeting is taken from Ebner, "Visit to Mr. McGruther [Yellowknife Public School Board] by Father Ebner," March 22, 1951, EP; and Ebner, "Private Interview with Mr. Cunningham," March 27, 1951, ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Trocellier to Ebner and Gathy, March 23, 1951, ibid. Ebner referred to this alternative as being acceptable to the committee in a letter to Young on March 28, 1951, ibid.
69. News of the North, March 30, 1951.
70. Ebner to Young, March 28, 1951, EP.
71. News of the North, March 30, 1951.
72. Young to Ebner, April 5, 1951, EP
73. Vide supra, 304.
74. Young found the petition of March 5 (Vincent, Balsillie, and Murphy, EP) to be "defective" in three respects: (1) the

signatures were described as "bona fide electors" rather than "resident ratepayers"; (2) it did not indicate the name of the proposed district, and (3) it was not in the form prescribed by the Commissioner. Young to Ebner, April 26, 1951, ibid.

75. _____ (senior departmental officer) to Acting Deputy Minister, November 23, 1951, 630/105-3, I, 323, PAC. The writer stated that the petition of March 5, was given "prompt attention...."
76. Young to Ebner, April 26, 1951, EP.
77. Lesage to Ebner, June 2, 1951, ibid.
78. Father Kindervater to Lesage, June 21, 1951, ibid. Kindervater corresponded frequently with Lesage and Ebner during the school negotiations.
79. At the Catholic taxpayers '(ratepayers)' committee meetings on May 25 and June 7, for example, considerable attention was given to seeing "how many votes we can muster" as well as "having them on the day appointed." Minutes, ibid.
80. Declaration of Poll and List of Nominees, June 23, 1951, ibid. As only three were nominated, N. Byrne, P. Vincent, J. Ondurus, all became members of the board. Ibid.
81. Cunningham (deputy commissioner) to N.W. Byrne, July 11, 1951, ibid.
82. Ebner to Young, March 28, 1951, EP.
83. Byrne to Wheeler (chairman, local administrative district), July 30, 1951, ibid.
84. McGruther to Byrne, August 3, 1951, ibid.
85. Father J. Serrurot (who replaced Gathy as pastor of the parish in the fall of 1951) to Trocellier, March 27, 1952, ibid.
86. Byrne to McGruther, February 2, 1952, ibid.
87. McGruther to Byrne, February 15, 1952, ibid.
88. Young to McGruther, March 1, 1952, ibid.
89. McGruther to Young, March 26, 1952, ibid.
90. News of the North, March 28, 1952.
91. Ibid., March 15, 1952.

92. Byrne to Audette, March 29, 1952, EP. Audette had given the figure in a letter to Byrne dated March 21, 1952.
93. "We also think it advisable to clarify the situation with regard to the supposedly high percentage of so-called 'Indians' who will attend the future Catholic school. Figures based on the number of Catholic children attending religious instruction classes at the Public School show that there are 54% whites, 42% of mixed blood and only 4% Indians. These figures are offered as a refutation of certain irresponsible statements concerning the Catholic student body and the Catholic population of Yellowknife, as a whole." N. Byrne, "Progress Report to the Catholic Electors," May 9, 1952, ibid. Cited hereinafter as Progress Report, May 9, 1952. The issue of the ethnicity of the proposed Catholic school had been raised at one of the first discussions between the Catholic taxpayers committee and public school officials. "The first point brought forward and much elaborated by Mr. Parker was that as our people in this locality were predominately half-breed that our school would take on in the eyes of even the White Catholics as being a half-breed school." Ebner, Notes of Meeting, March 6, 1951, ibid.
94. News of the North, May 23, 1952, ibid.
95. Progress Report, May 9, 1952; Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 21, "A Private Letter to the Catholic Electors of Yellowknife," May 21, 1952, ibid.
96. Byrne to Audette, May 21, 1952; Serrurot to Hardie, May 28, 1952.
97. Young to Byrne, May 10, 1952, Byrne to Young, May 15, 1952, Young to Byrne, May 21, 1952, ibid.
98. Lesage to J. Cormack (lawyer, Edmonton), June 16, 1952, ibid. For more on Cormack, vide infra, 537. Byrne sought to have the fees reduced citing section 162; realizing at the same time, "that circumstances are such that we have no alternative but to agree to the Public School Board request...." Byrne to Young, May 15, 1952, ibid. Although Young pointed out that section 162 did not apply (Young to Byrne, May 21, 1952, ibid.) he did indicate, following the Council's session in July, that the new Ordinance spelled out the "maximum tuition which may be charged." Young to Byrne, July 15, 1952, ibid. The fee schedule was not changed.
99. Byrne to Young, June 5, 1952, ibid.
100. Young to Byrne, June 5, 1952, ibid.
101. Serrurot to Trocellier, June 14, 1952, ibid.

102. Byrne to Young, June 19, 1952, ibid.
103. Byrne to Young, June 30, 1952; Young to Byrne, July 15, 1952, ibid.
104. Ebner "Our School How We Shall Finance It," May 23, 1953, ibid.
105. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1953, TAU. Byrne to Young, January 12, 1953, EP.
106. The monthly tuition charge totalled \$2,020. Ibid. During 1952-1953, the separate school district received \$5,190 from the territorial government for 37 pupils. Cunningham to Byrne, March 31, 1953, EP. Byrne estimated that the income from property taxes would be about \$2,400. Byrne to Trocellier, March 12, 1952, ibid. While the actual income from taxation is not known, it is estimated that the board's deficit, which had to be met by the vicariate, was slightly over \$12,000.
107. Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1953, TAU.
108. Minutes, June 23, 1959, 3838. For a résumé of capital grants to the public school from 1939 to 1951, vide supra, 513.
109. Minutes, February 15, 1951, 3892.
110. From the time to Cunningham's interview with Ebner in March 1951 when the latter was advised that Ottawa would not provide a capital grant of more than fifty per cent the administration's position was consistent. Ebner, "Private Interview with Mr. Cunningham," March 27, 1951, EP. A. Simmons, the member of parliament for Yukon-Mackenzie, thought that the board would get no more than a fifty per cent capital grant. Simmons to Brault (Catholic Taxpayers' Committee) February 28, 1951, AVM.
111. Minutes, June 12, 1951, 3920. The total amount authorized was \$185,000, one-half of which was to be in the form of a grant with the remainder to be raised by the purchase of securities or a debenture. Ibid.
112. Minutes, Catholic Ratepayers' Committee, March 11, 1951, EP.
113. Ebner, "Interview with Mr. C. White and Mr. McGruther, March 11, 1951; Ebner to Audette, March 14, 1951, Lesage to Audette, April 30, 1951, Lesage to Audette, May 11, 1951, ibid., Byrne to Trocellier, November 11, 1951, EP. Lesage to Cormack, June 11, 1951, LP.

114. _____(legal advisor) to Lesage, February 12, 1952, LP.
115. Lesage to Ebner, June 2, 1951, EP.
116. _____(senior Oblate official) to separate school board, September 3, 1951, ibid.
117. Ebner to Young, March 11, 1951, ibid. The committee's initial request for "no less than a Government grant of \$65,000. paid in 1951 for the initial construction of 4 classrooms together with an additional 1952 Government grant, not as yet estimated, to cover the cost of completion in that year." Ibid.
118. Young to Byrne, July 4, 1952, ibid.
119. Trocellier to Ebner, October 7, 1951, ibid.
120. Byrne to Trocellier, November 28, 1951, ibid.
121. Council of the Northwest Territories, Debate, First Session, December 13, 1951, 122. Cited hereinafter as Debates.
122. Lesage to Renaud, February 15, 1952, LP. Cormack to J. Connolly (Ottawa lawyer), June 16, 1952, EP.
123. Trocellier to Young, June 30, 1952, ibid.
124. V & P (2) appropriations.
125. Young to Byrne, April 7, 1952, EP.
126. Trocellier to Ebner, October 7, 1951, ibid; Byrne to Trocellier, November 28, 1951, ibid.
127. Ebner to Young, April 27, 1951, ibid.
128. Young to Ebner, May 1, 1951, ibid.
129. Lesage to Ebner, May 7, 1951, ibid.
130. Lesage, "Yellowknife Separate School Re: Finance," May 10, 1951, LP.
131. Ebner to Young, April 25, 1951, EP. Although this letter was not sent, its contents reflected the committee's thinking of the need for remedial legislation which would bring about a fair distribution of local school taxes. On June 11, 1951, Lesage agreed that the "demand for a differential grant for the maintenance of the Separate School should be dropped for the time being." Lesage to Cormack, June 11, 1951, LP.

132. Ebner, "Interview with Mr. Wright," March 10, 1951, EP.
133. Ebner "Interview of No. Byrne, R.G. Wheeler, and J. Parker," March 5, 1951, ibid.
134. Ordinance, c.105, ss.7-8 (1905).
135. Ebner to Young, March 11, 1951, 2, EP.
136. Revised Statutes of Quebec, ss. 2, 99, 103-106, 116, 249, 309, 310, and 456, c.59 (1941).
137. Lesage to Ebner, April 10, 1951, LP.
138. Lesage "Proposed Amendments to An Ordinance Respecting Assessment and Taxation in Schools [sic] Districts," September 9, 1951, 2, ibid.
139. Lesage to Hardie (member for Mackenzie North), October 7, 1951, ibid., same to same "Re Corporation Taxes," May 15, 1952, ibid. In the latter Lesage argued for the per capita method of corporate tax distribution over the pro rata system.
140. Lesage to Ebner, September 26, 1951, ibid.
141. Byrne to Trocellier, March 12, 1952, ibid.
142. Ibid.; Young to Byrne, March 13, 1952, ibid.
143. Trocellier to Byrne, March 17, 1952, ibid.; same to same, March 25, 1952, ibid. In Byrne's letter to Trocellier of March 12, he advised that unless the financial impasse facing the board was resolved, construction would have to be stopped. Byrne to Trocellier, March 12, 1952, ibid.
144. Byrne to Audette, March 29, 1952, ibid. Needless to say one of the most contentious and ultimately unresolved issues considered by the Hope Commission concerned separate schools. Phillips summarized its work as follows: "A Royal Commission on education in Ontario published in 1950, a most comprehensive and creditable report; but a majority of the members had the temerity to offer an ingenious solution to a seemingly insoluble separate school problem, and the government understandably helped to restore peace by inaction." C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company, 1957), 263.
145. Winters to Lesage, March 10, 1952, (copy), LP.
146. Byrne to Young, March 29, 1952, EP.
147. Young to Ebner, April 7, 1952, (copy), AVM. A notation

"no! no! no!" beside the paragraph suggesting ratepayers' choice is believed to be Trocellier's. Ibid.

148. Vide supra, 526.
149. F. W. Henne (chairman local trustee board) to Byrne, May 8, 1952. Letters to Council, June 1952, Archives of the Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife. Cited hereinafter as LC TAYK. The yield was based on a total assessment of \$51,715 general, a mill rate of 22, and \$4,930.00 business, a mill rate of 11. Ibid. The separate board, however, had not yet scrutinized the rolls carefully. Vide infra, 550.
150. Same to Young, May 8, 1952, L/C (June) TAYK. Young acknowledged the board's submission on May 13. Young to Henne, May 13, ibid.
151. Henne to Young, June 13, 1952, ibid.
152. Byrne to Young, June 25, 1952, (copy), EP.
153. Young to Byrne, July 2, 1952, (copy), ibid.
154. J. S. Cormack, Minority Report Alberta Royal Commission on Education, 1959 (October 31, 1959), 1-82.
155. Cormack, "Treatment of Minority in Alberta's Education," January 3, 1952, (copy). The report was mimeographed by Lesage on February 19, 1952. It is not known when the report was forwarded to Lesage, but there is evidence to indicate that it was enclosed in a letter from Cormack to him in January 1952. LP.
156. Cormack to Trocellier, May 12, 1952, AVM. It is possible that the brief had been circulated previously. Cited hereinafter as Cormack memorandum.
157. Citations in the Cormack memorandum have been changed in accordance with the following references: Revised Statutes of Canada, 4-5 Edw. VII c.62, c.10 (1906); and Ordinances, c.75 (1905).
158. Cormack memorandum, 1-4.
159. Cormack to Lesage, February 6, 1952, LP; Byrne to Connolly, June 27, 1952, EP. Twenty letters concerning the school question were enclosed with the latter.
160. _____(territorial Councillor) to Ebner, March 5, 1951, EP.
161. _____(senior Oblate official, Ottawa) to _____, February 14, 1952, 60-1, (confidential), COOI.

162. L/C (April, May, June), passim TAYK.
163. "School Ordinance" LC (May), 1-31, ibid.
164. _____(correspondent, Ottawa) to _____(territorial resident), June 10, 1952, (confidential), EP.
165. Connolly to Cormack, June 26, 1952, (copy), ibid.
166. Lesage to Hardie, June 23, 1952, LP: Cormack to Connolly, June 28, 1952, EP.
167. Hardie to Trocellier, May 27, 1952, AVM.
168. _____(territorial separate school supporter) to Connolly, June 28, 1952, EP. Copies of this letter were distributed to most of the principal separate school supporters in the territories.
169. Young, July 2, 1952, Second Session of Council, Commissioner's Addresses, Council of the Northwest Territories, TAYK.
170. Votes and Proceedings of the Council of the Northwest Territories (Second Session), July 2 - July 10, 1952, 6. Henne represented the local trustee board, Parker and Grogan the Yellowknife public school board. Ibid. Cited hereinafter as V&P (2).
171. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the debate are from Parker's report "To the People of Yellowknife," News of the North, July 25, 1952.
172. Byrne to Young, June 7, 1952, EP.
173. Western Weekly Reports, X (March to September, 1916), 494-505; W.W.R (1917) I, 1105-1118; Weir, 277-282.
174. All matters dealing with assessment and payments to the separate board were conducted between the local administrative district and the separate board. Vide Byrne to Lynch (secretary-treasurer, administrative district) January 12, 1953, EP.
175. Kindervater to Lesage, September 18, 1951, LP. The informant pointed out that the Edmonton Separate Board had experienced difficulties in this regard. It was never a problem in Yellowknife, as a municipal rather than a school authority was responsible for the collection and distribution of taxes.
176. V&P (2), 11. Councillors Brodie and Nicolson were absent. Councillors Carmichal, Element, Cunningham and MacKay voted in favour. For a detailed list of the commissioner's power

under the section, vide supra, 439.

177. Hardie's role in the July debates was roundly criticized at a meeting of the Local Administrative District in August. According to one trustee, Hardie had tried to improve his political position, but that "his name has been mud ever since." News of the North, August 22, 1952. In 1953 Hardie was elected as the first member of Parliament for the new Mackenzie constituency and held the seat until his death in 1961. North (September-October, 1961) VIII, no. 5, 54. Hardie's territorial seat, which he resigned following his election to parliament, was narrowly won by Parker in the fall of 1954. News of the North, September 10, 1954.
178. V&P (2), 12, The vote was the same as that cited in no 176.
179. Audette to Ebner, August 27, 1952, EP; _____ (senior Oblate official) to Trocellier, July 10, 1952, AVM.
180. Meeting of Yellowknife Public School Board, July 22, 1952, Minutes of Public School District No. 1, Minute File from May 30, 1952 to June 2, 1961, L.P. Office of secretary-treasurer, Yellowknife. Recipients of the letters of thanks were civil servants.
181. Trocellier to Connolly, September 6, 1952, AVM. "No doubt that the adoption of the Per Capita method has been rendered impossible by the opposition and the circumstances prevailing then in Yellowknife." Byrne to Connolly, August 29, 1952, EP.
182. _____ (senior Oblate official, Ottawa) to Trocellier, July 10, 1952, AVM.
183. News of the North, July 25, 1952.
184. La Liberté et La Patriote, March 20, 1953, excerpt in 60-2, COOI. Another and more immediate reaction to the Ordinance came from an Oblate correspondent who thought it would be very imprudent "de demander au Conseil des Ministres se desavouer la loi actuelle." _____ (Oblate official, Ottawa) to Serrurot, July 18, 1952 (copy), EP.
185. "De vous prier de bien vouloir faire savoir si l'école séparée peut compter sur les soeurs, ou non. L'un des Commissaires a fait cette réflexion qui, dit-il, traduit la pensée de la majorité des catholiques en faveur d'école séparée: 'If there were no sisters to teach, I wouldn't consider giving any support nor any thought to having a separate school in Yellowknife.' Tous les Commissaires sont extrêmement anxieux d'avoir enfin une réponse à cette question et m'ont prié de vous renouveler la question posée plusieurs fois à ce sujet...." Serrurot to Trocellier, April 15, 1952, EP.

186. "Si nous pouvions trouver une communauté religieuse pour prendre charge de cette école, nos dépenses seraient réduites un peu et puis d'autres oeuvres secondaires aideraient peut-être un peu pour le soutien l'école." Trocellier to Ebner, March 21, 1951, ibid.
187. Renaud to Ebner, October 26, 1951, ibid. The congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph was established in France by Mgr. Maupas of Le Puy in 1650 at the suggestion of Médaille, a Jesuit. The community prospered until the Revolution. Reconstituted in 1808, the mother house established a mission in the United States in 1836, with one of its branches moving to Canada in 1851. In 1869, the community opened a school in London, Ontario; three years later this foundation became independent, when it was incorporated as the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Diocese of London. In addition to staffing over twenty separate schools and a number of hospitals in the London diocese, the community undertook similar projects in other English speaking areas of the country, including "the first Catholic school in the Northwest Territories to receive Government recognition." Spiritual Directory of the Sisters of St. Joseph of London (Toronto: Mission Press, 1962), 1-10.
188. Several informants in Yellowknife (1969-1970), who asked not to be named, indicated the prevalence of this point of view.
189. "Progress Report to Catholic Electors," May 9, 1952, EP. Ebner to Sister M. Marguerite, May 12, 1952, ibid.
190. Sister M. Placida (supervisor of schools, Sisters of St. Joseph of London) to Lesage, February 26, 1953, ibid.; Ebner to Sister Marguerite, May 30, 1953, ibid. None were available. Two lay teachers were hired for the 1954-1955 year. Byrne to Devitt, August 23, 1954, ibid.
191. Byrne to same, February 9, 1954, ibid. An inspector's report indicated that all three teachers were doing good work. Report, May 26, 1954 630/105-3, NANR, Fort Smith, IV. A headline in the News of the North seemed to agree, "Doing a Good Job It Seems." August 27, 1954.
192. "Annual Review" Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 2, (St. Patrick's School, August 1954), 2, EP. "An amount equal to the minimum salary at the Public School is paid on behalf of each of the teaching sisters of St. Joseph." Ibid.
193. Byrne to Local Administrative District, February 4, 1952, ibid. Some changes were made in the rolls. Local Administrative District to Byrne, June 23, 1952, ibid.

194. _____(senior departmental officer) to _____(Yellowknife), July 17, 1952, 630/105-3, III, 324, PAC. It is interesting to note that the president of the same company had advised the Catholic ratepayers' committee a year before that he favoured "the neutral panel system for corporations as an equitable distribution on a school attendance basis so that each child shall have equal opportunity to acquire educational standards." _____(Toronto) to Ebner, March 20, 1951, (copy), ibid.
195. _____(departmental officer) to _____(senior departmental official), December 3, 1952, 630/105-3, III, 324 PAC.
196. V&P (3), passim.
197. Byrne to Lynch (local administrative district), January 12, 1953, EP; Ebner to Lesage, February 4, 1953, ibid; Cormack to Byrne, April 30, 1953, ibid; Byrne to Ebner, May 18, 1955, ibid; same to same, May 26, 1953, ibid; Byrne to Lynch, April 21, 1953, ibid; separate school board to Catholic ratepayers, June 1, 1953, (mimeographed), ibid; Thorpe (separate school board) to Lynch, June 8, 1953, ibid; separate school board to corporations, June 20, 1953, (mimeographed), ibid.
198. Byrne to Young, June 19, 1953, ibid.
199. Same to same, June 27, 1953, ibid.
200. Byrne to Parker, August 19, ibid.
201. Byrne to Lynch, October 3, 1953, ibid. The letter contained twenty-six letters signed by "Yellowknife taxpayers who are of the Roman Catholic Faith and as such are supporters of the Separate School." Ibid. Same to same, October 9, 1953, ibid. This letter supplied forty-six names "whom to the best of our knowledge are Catholics." According to section eighty-two, subsection two of the Ordinance, the assessor, in the absence of a statement, was to make "entries in accordance with his knowledge and information." Ordinance, c. 18, s. 182, ss. 2 (1952). As the board was supplying this information to the local administrative district, the assessor had, in its opinion the required knowledge. Byrne to Lynch, October 9, 1953, EP.
202. "Annual Review," Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 2, (St. Patrick's School, August 1954), 7, ibid.
203. "Financial Statements," Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 2, (June 30, 1961), Table-Record of Operation, EP.
204. _____(member of the government) to _____(senior official

departmental education division) October 6, 1953, 630/105-3, III, 324 PAC.

205. _____(senior departmental official) to _____(departmental field officer) October 8, 1953, ibid.
206. Vide supra, 441 . The Catholic readers prescribed were as follows: Faith and Freedom, Corona, and the New Cathedral Lines. Ibid.
207. Spiritual Directory, 98.
208. _____(field officer) to _____(senior official departmental education division), October 19, 1953, 630/105-3, III, 324 PAC.
209. _____(field officer) to all teachers (Mackenzie District), January 27, 1954, (copy), EP.
210. Byrne to _____(field officer) March 25, 1954, ibid. The field officer advised that a suggestion concerning a change in the hours of religious instruction had been forwarded to Ottawa: "If action is taken, we will inform you immediately." _____(field officer) to Byrne, September 8, 1954, ibid. Nothing further was heard.
211. Regulations, January 27, 1953, Orders and Regulations (N.W.T.), III.
212. Byrne to Devitt (field officer), February 19, 1954, EP. _____(field officer) to Byrne, March 1, 1954, ibid.
213. Byrne to same, March 25, 1954, ibid. The board used heading 1 of sub-section two of section 13 of the regulations: "Any day, but not exceeding one in any month designated by the governing authority as a holiday for any local purpose." Regulations, January 27, 1953, Orders and Regulations, (N.W.T.) III.
214. Ibid., July 9, 1956.
215. Commissioner Robertson to Byrne, March 28, 1955, (copy), EP.
216. Vide supra, 443.
217. Moore Manuscript, 59, 44, 34.
218. Minutes and Proceedings and Evidence, April 15, 1954, No. 10, 484. "Utilizing the residential school for more advanced work for youngsters who had been sent from other schools to go there, possibly a school of opportunity...." Ibid. In May MacKinnon testifying before the same committee indicated that plans for such an institution were underway: "In connection

with the school of opportunity...It is planned that children from all over the Territories will be taken in and given an opportunity for advanced education...." Ibid., May 15, 1947, No. 22, 1144.

219. MacKinnon to Gibson, November 21, 1949, 630/105-1, III, PAC.
220. Minutes, SOE, January 10, 1950, I.
221. Ibid., March 10, 1950, I.
222. Low Report, 31.
223. _____(senior departmental official) to McGruther, August 27, 1952, 630/105-3, III, 324, PAC.
224. For Trocellier's letter to Moore, vide supra, 342.
225. Lesage to Ebner, November 28, 1951, LP.
226. Ebner to Byrne, June 12, 1953, EP. "What will come of it the industrial school] I do not know." Ibid.
227. Lesage to Ebner, November 28, 1951, LP. "On the other hand, there are good reasons to favour Resolution as a center for bringing in Indians from their settlements, and gives them the desired vocational training. Father Haramburu is prepared to act in that field. The whole population is Catholic. The day school facilities may serve well the purpose, and so forth." Ibid.
228. North Star June, 1954. The separate board felt that a residential school should be built at Rae "where the majority of the Indians are resident." Byrne to Cormack, December 13, 1954, ibid. The building of a large Indian residence in Yellowknife would have changed the ethnic character of the Catholic school. As a result of the Trocellier-Lesage discussions a new residential school for the children of Ettakai, Rae, Resolution, and other camps around the Great Slave was built at Fort Smith. Vide supra, 444.
229. Classifications of Pupils as of March 31, 1955, TAU. _____(departmental officer) to _____(senior departmental officer) December 14, 1954, 630/105-3, IV, NANR Ottawa.
230. Byrne to Cormack, December 13, 1954, ibid.
231. _____(senior departmental officer) to Commissioner, January 7, 1955, 630/105-3, NANR, IV.
232. Byrne to Trocellier, January 29, 1955, AVM. Trocellier to Byrne, February 17, 1955, ibid.

233. Byrne to Robertson, February 19, 1955, EP.
234. Same to same, March 16, 1955, ibid.
235. Robertson to Byrne, March 28, 1955, EP. The letter was sent on the same day as the minister's announcement was released.
236. Robertson to Byrne, March 28, 1955, ibid.
237. News of the North, May 13, 1955.
238. Robertson to Byrne, May 19, 1955, EP; "Memo of conversation with G. Robertson," May 28, 1955, ibid.; Byrne to Robertson, June 16, 1955, ibid.
239. Robertson to Byrne, June 28, 1955, ibid.
240. Byrne to Robertson, June 11, 1955, ibid.
241. Memo Re Separate School Rights (for Mr. _____), July 31, 1955 (?), ibid. Several of the arguments were used later; vide infra, n.273.
242. V&P (9), passim; Commissioner's Address, Council of N.W.T. (9), passim; Robertson to Byrne, November 15, 1955, EP.
243. _____(departmental officer) to senior departmental officer, July 19, 1955, 630/105-3, V, NANR, Ottawa.
244. _____(senior departmental officer) to _____ (elected member of territorial Council, July 7, 1955, 630/105-3, NANR, Ottawa.
245. _____(separate school supporter, Edmonton) to Ebner, February 22, 1956, EP.
246. Coudert, "Official Opening of Christ the King New School in Whitehorse," January 14, 1956, ibid. Coudert To Byrne, February 16, 1956, EP. Coudert had plans to introduce grade ten at Christ the King in the fall of 1956, (ibid.); St. Patrick's enrolled three students each in grades ten and eleven during the 1955-1956 school year, and received subsidies for all six students. "Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1956," TAU.
247. Byrne to Robertson, December 17, 1955, ibid.
248. Robertson to Byrne, January 18, 1957, 2, ibid.
249. Byrne to Trocellier, April 1, 1957, ibid.; Trocellier to Byrne, April 26, 1957, ibid.
250. Byrne to Robertson, May 1, 1957, ibid.

251. Robertson to Byrne, June 7, 1957, ibid. Robertson's reply was in accord with a formula presented to the thirteenth session of Council by the Interdepartmental Committee on Financial Relations- "Report on the Northwest Territories," 7-8. V&P (13), passim.
252. Byrne to Robertson, July 18, 1957, EP.
253. Byrne to Trocellier, May 6, 1957, ibid.
254. Robertson to Byrne, August 8, 1957, ibid.
255. Byrne to Robertson, October 11, 1957, ibid.
256. Robertson to Byrne, October 24, 1957, ibid.
257. Same to same, March 13, 1958. There is no mention in the proceedings of the fourteenth session of Council (January 14 - 21, 1958) that the grant was provided on this basis, but this does not mean that Council understood this in passing the appropriation. V&P (14), passim.
258. Byrne to Robertson, March 24, 1958, ibid.
259. Classification of Pupils, March 31, 1958, TAU.
260. The programs offered at Sir John Franklin were outlined to the board by Robertson to Byrne, May 30, 1958, EP.
261. Classification of Pupils-Mackenzie Education District, June 1959, 633-1, closed files, Government of the N.W.T., Yellowknife.
262. Byrne to Robertson, May 27, 1959. Reports for N.W.T. Council, Second Session, Clerk of the Council, Yellowknife.
263. Robertson to Byrne, June 15, 1959, ibid.
264. Robertson's letter cited above stated "The grants authorized by the Territorial Council at the last session were authorized for pupils in Grades 1 to 9, inclusive, and, consequently no funds have been voted for the purpose of paying grants to your School District for students in attendance in higher grades." Ibid. No specific mention of this decision is made in the debates of the eighteenth session; however, the deletion was undoubtedly listed in the appropriation ordinance. V&P (16), passim. According to a News of the North release, the seventeenth session "learned that the administration had refused a grant to the local separate [sic] school for the one high school student who attended last year. Nor is it intended that a grant will be

made for a seperate sic high school in the future, since thre sic is in the Sir John Franklin School here an adequate place for education for all high school pupils here." August 6, 1959.

265. Byrne to Director (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources), July 3, 1959, EP; same to same, August 13, 1959, ibid.
266. Director to Byrne, November 12, 1959, ibid.
267. Robertson to Byrne, June 22, 1959, EP; Byrne to Cormack, June 26, 1959; Byrne to Robertson, June 30, 1959, ibid; Robertson to Byrne, July 3, 1959; Kindervater to Byrne, July 14, 1959, ibid; Byrne to Cormack, August 11, 1959, ibid.
268. Byrne to Sister M. Placida (London), August 13, 1959, ibid; Piché to Byrne, December 18, 1959, AVM.
269. Byrne to Coudert, December 12, 1959, EP.
270. A "general pattern (leading to University Matriculation, etc.) was outlined as the "tentative program for 1959-1960." Ibid. The courses and instructors were subject to the approval of the Alberta Department of Education. The comments in the inspector's report, dated November, 1959, regarding the continuation of high school instruction were challenged in Byrne to Booth (chief superintendent of schools), December 11, 1959, ibid.
271. Same to Robertson, December 15, 1959, ibid.
272. Ebner to Piché, January 27, 1960, AVM.
273. Cormack, Byrne, Sessional Paper No. 1B, 1960 (First Session), passim. Sessional Papers (July, 1960), in Sessional Papers, second session (1960). Cited hereinafter as SP (2-1960). For an account of section 93 BNA Act, vide supra, 64 ; for section 36 of the Ordinance, vide infra, 564 . Section 13 of the Northwest Territories as "originally enacted" gave the Commissioner "power to make ordinances with regard to education but that 'such means shall not at any time be in excess of those conferred by Section 92 and 93 of the British North America Act'". Cormack-Byrne, ibid.
274. Ebner to Piché, January 27, 1960, AVM.
275. Hardie to _____(separate school supporter), January 29, 1960, EP.
276. "Brief From Yellowknife Separate School District No. 2,"

Sessional Paper No. IA, 1960 (First Session), passim, SP (2-1960).

277. Robertson to Byrne, February 5, 1960, EP. Robertson had influenza and was unable to attend the discussions either on January 13, or 19, Ibid.
278. Byrne to Robertson, March 9, 1960, Sessional Papers (July 1960), SP (2-1960).
279. Same to same, March 22, 1960, ibid.
280. Byrne to Robertson, April 29, 1960, ibid.
281. Robertson to Byrne, May 3, 1960, ibid.
282. Byrne to Robertson, May 24, 1960, ibid; same to same, June 1, 1960, EP.
283. Same to same, June 22, 1960, ibid.
284. "Grants to School Districts," SP (2-1960), 1-5. "A projection of the present enrollment at the Yellowknife Separate School, shown as Appendix 6, indicates that the net cost of grants for the high school grades would amount to \$1, 750 in the academic year 1959-60 and increase to \$5,750 by the academic year 1965-66. This forecast assumes that these grants would be paid at the rate of \$250 per pupil, which is the level at which these grants were paid to the Separate School before the opening of the Sir John Franklin School."
...According to figures taken at April 13, 1960, the per capita cost at Sir John Franklin School is in the region of \$1,600 during the 1959-60 academic year. Were the 11 Roman Catholic students now in attendance at the Federal School to transfer to the Separate School, the operating cost of the Federal School would be affected only negligibly and the per capita cost would be increased to approximately \$1,642.
...It would not appear that any additional classroom space will be needed for the high school Grades 10 to 12 in the coming five year period. If, however, provision had to be made for all of the Roman Catholic high school students resident in Yellowknife, two additional classrooms at the Separate School will have to be added by 1965." 3-4, Ibid.
The paper was prepared by departmental headquarters and field personnel; vide for example, _____ (senior departmental officer) to deputy commissioner. June 3, 1960, 630/105-3, VI, NANR Ottawa.
285. V&P (19), 59-62. Council's decision was given perfunctory notice in News of the North, July 21, 1960. A more extensive account

was given in the Edmonton Journal, July 18, 1960: "I think the right to establish separate schools is part of tradition in the Northwest Territories and a right which we have recognized," said Mr. Robertson. "They feel it is discriminating not to accord grants to them for high school grades. Their logic is hard to question." Ibid.

286. Spiritual Directory, 9-10.
287. Coudert to _____ (Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate District No. 2), July 26, 1960, EP. A senior departmental officer advised the Commissioner of the Yukon in August 1960 as follows: "It was hoped that high school pupils from both the public and separate schools would take advantage of this well-equipped school [Franklin]. This policy has now been revised, following strong representations from the Yellowknife Separate School Board, and the new policy of paying grants through to Grade 12 will apply throughout the Territories as new school districts are established." Same to same, August 7, 1960, 630/105-3, VI, NANR, Ottawa.
288. E. Côté (assistant deputy minister) to Byrne, August 2, 1960, EP.
289. Byrne to Robertson, August 26, 1960, ibid.
290. Robertson to Byrne, September 8, 1960, ibid. Although any capital grant would have to receive Council's approval, Robertson thought that "Council would stand by the policy that has hitherto applied under which the separate school would be treated in the same way as a public school - that is, there would be a grant of 50% of the capital cost and a loan of the remaining 50%." Ibid.
291. Piché to Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School Board (telegram), December 16, 1960, AVM.
292. Revised costing figures quoted in Robertson to Byrne, November 28, 1961, EP.
293. Program of Official Opening of St. Patrick's School, November 24, 1961, ibid.; P. Piché, "Blessing of St. Patrick's Separate High School," Courrier de Famille (January 1962), 6-8.
294. Robertson quoted in "New High School Given Official Opening Friday," News of the North, November 30, 1961.
295. An example of the administration's wavering attitude toward separate schools is apparent in the following excerpts from B. Sivertz's (Robertson's successor) speech on the reopening of St. Patrick's high school on November 1, 1964,

after it had been destroyed by fire:

I have been wondering if the Ecumenical movement...will not have the effect of drawing closer Roman Catholics and their friends and neighbours of other denominations. I have also wondered whether this drawing together might not apply in the matter of what I think of as the community school or public school rather than schools that are separate on lines of race or religion. In some places in Alberta this has resulted in the joining at the high school level of Roman Catholic Separate Schools with local public schools. These moves have been taken, perhaps for several reasons, but high in importance among them has been recognizing need for the best possible type of high school, and this generally means a larger school. There is also money economy to be realized from larger units. Applying this reasoning to the Northwest Territories, there is the very serious question whether [our] schools...do in fact need all the consolidation that can be realized in any one town.

It is my impression that it is open for me to speak without offence and recommend these thoughts, since I understand this subject for separateness in school is not essential to the faith...without conducting any canvass, I have come to many Catholic laymen, several priests, and one member of the hierarchy, whose views on this subject coincide with mine. News of the North, November 5, 1964.

296. Vide supra, 365.
297. E. G. Boardman (Dominion Bureau of Statistics) to investigator, July 15, 1970.
298. Cohen, 62.
299. Slobodin, 18-19.
300. That the composition of a separate Catholic school in Hay River would be predominantly native is evident in a census report on the federal school taken by the pastor of St. Ann's (Hay River), dated January 20, 1952:
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|--------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----|
| | Total | Catho. | Prot. | Blancs. | Métis | Ind. | Tr. |
| Externat Pub. | 120 | 67 | 53 | Cath. 12 | 44 | 11 | |
| | | | | Prot. 45 | 8 | - | |
- Ecoles, Vicariat du Mackenzie, LP.
301. Vide supra, 372.
302. Lesage to E. Osborne (Catholic Education Association), Hay River, October 21, 1951, LP.
303. "Church Bells" (St. Ann's Mission [Assumption] , Hay River;

Easter 1952, II, 3, Pentecost 1952, II, 4, November 1952, II, 6, February 1954, IV, 2, August 1954, IV, 4-5, passim; November 1954, IV, 6, 5-6; Christmas 1954, V, 1, February 1955, V, 2, Easter 1955, V, 3, Pentecost 1955, V, 4, passim.

304. There were sixty-nine Roman Catholic pupils at the Hay River federal day school on March 31, 1955, of a total enrollment of 160. "Classification of Pupils as of March 31, 1955," TAU.
305. Lesage to _____ (Hay River), October 26, 1955, LP.
306. "Explanatory Notes - Appropriation Ordinance 1960-1961 Capital Account," 1, TAU.
307. Quoted in _____ (departmental official) to Piché, February 24, 1960, AVM.
308. J. Dessy (pastor, St. Ann's), Hay River School, December 1959, ibid.
309. _____ (departmental official) to Piché, February 24, 1960, ibid.
310. Piché to _____ (departmental official), February 29, 1960, ibid.
311. Piché's letter of the 29th was acknowledged on March 7, but his propositions were not discussed until May 25; _____ (departmental official) to Piché, March 7, 1960, ibid; _____ (departmental official) to Piché, May 25, 1960, ibid.
312. Piché to Robertson, July 6, 1960, ibid.
313. Robertson to Piché, July 8, 1960, ibid.
314. Bill No. 9, V&P (19). As the bill was passed unamended it is hereinafter referred to as Ordinance, c.8, ss.1-3 (1960). According to one of Piché's legal advisors, the amendment had "merit and in fact in Ontario works out very well," _____ to Piché, _____ 1960, AVM.
315. V&P (19), 42-43.
316. "Grants to School Districts," SP (2-1960), 5; V&P (19), 59-63.
317. Ibid., 61.
318. Ibid., 62-63. According to a tender notice in News of the North, September 1, 1960, the administration planned to go

ahead with some alterations to the federal school.

319. V&P (19), 88.

320. Ibid., 98.

321. Robertson to Piché, July 19, 1960, AVM.

322. In acknowledging Robertson's letter of July 19, Piche said that he planned to meet with the Catholic ratepayers in Hay River on July 27 "to inform them of the procedure to follow for the establishment of the separate school district which they desire...." Piché to Robertson, July 25, 1960, ibid. The petition, according to the revised "Form G" Ordinance, c.8, s. 3 1960), was sent to the commissioner in early September. J. Denis to parishioners, November 20, 1960, ibid. (mimeographed).

323. Robertson to Piché, October 7, 1960, ibid. Forecasting the separate board's income and per pupil grants to total \$36,775 in 1961-62, rising to \$44,475 in 1965-66, a departmental official noted:

I think it is extremely unlikely that the district will be able to provide the facilities and services necessary at the per pupil cost figures indicated. Teachers' salaries and prerequisites alone on the basis of 6 teachers in 1961-62 and 7 teachers in 1964-65 (bare minimum) will probably run to \$27,000 and \$31,500 respectively. _____ (departmental official) to deputy commissioner, October 5, 1960, 630/109-3, NANR, Ottawa.

324. "On first sight, the revenue from taxes on a \$60,000.00 assessment is certainly inadequate to meet the operating costs of a six-room school. However, may I say on behalf of the Catholic people of Hay River, that other funds are following from other sources. First as all the Catholic people are interested in a Separate School, all of them will be asked to provide financial help. Incidentally, Catholic non-ratepayers are twice as many as the ratepayers. Second, the Separate School will also be backed financially by the Assumption parish, by the Episcopal Corporation of Mackenzie. Eventually, it is expected that the Order of Sisters [Grey Nuns] who will teach at the school will offer some financial assistance." Piche to Robertson, October 14, 1960, AVM. Robertson to Piché, November 1, 1960, ibid.

325. J. Denis (pastor, St. Ann's), November 29, 1960, ibid.; W. McBryan, "Letter to Rate-Payers and Parishioners, January 19, 1961, ibid.

326. Deputy commissioner to W. McBryan (chairman, Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School Board), December 27, 1960, ibid; W. McBryan, "A Report to the Separate School Ratepayers of Hay River," April 10, 1961, ibid.
327. W. McBryan, "Letter to Rate-Payers' and Parishioners," January 19, 1961, AVM.
328. V&P (20), 50-51. "Any additional grants will be taken care of by supplementary Estimates." Deputy Commissioner to Piché, February 7, 1961, AVM.
329. McBryan to Piché, July 16, 1961, ibid. The bid was discussed during Council's session at Fort Simpson in July 1961, V&P (21), 39-40.
330. Ebner to Father D. Kroetch, March 12, 1964, quoted in Kroetch, 88.
331. _____ (departmental official) to McBryan, March 10, 1961, AVM.
332. Robertson to same, February 6, 1961, (telegram) ibid; _____ (departmental official) to same, March 10, 1961, ibid.
333. "A Report to Separate School Ratepayers of Hay River," April 10, 1961, ibid; "McBryan head of new school district," Hay River Aurora, in News of the North, April 13, 1961.
334. McBryan to Robertson, April 7, 1961, 630/109-3, NANR, Ottawa.
335. _____ (departmental official) to _____ (departmental official), August 5, 1960, 630/105-3, V, NANR, Ottawa.
 There are rumours circulating in Yellowknife to the effect that the Separate School Board is planning to draw students from Akaitcho Hall.
 I do not know whether this information is accurate... but if they get any inquiries in this regard they should give the following reply: 'Akaitcho Hall is for children attending the Sir John Franklin School and no arrangements can be made for children not attending Sir John Franklin to be accomodated in it without authorization.'
 Ibid.
336. "Enrollment Form Consolidation and Classification of Pupils for Schools in Fulltime Operation," March 31, 1963, Government of the Northwest Territories, clerk file entitled "Enrollment Figure from 1961 to Present," Department of Education, Yellowknife; Annual Report Education Divison (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963-1964), 49.

337. _____(pastor, St. Ann's) to Piché, November 29, 1960, AVM.
338. For an account of the board's taxation revenues vide Ernst and Ernst (chartered accountants), "Report on Taxation and School Financing in the Northwest Territories to the Hay River Roman Catholic Separate School District No.3 of the Northwest Territories," October 1968, passim, EP. In 1967, for example, the total actual tax revenue was \$2,270. Ibid., 11. As of September 1, 1970, the school has been used as a primary annex by the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Part III Summary

Following the end of World War II, the government, largely at Anglican prompting, successfully established its first Indian day school at McPherson, but its hopes for a common system, albeit with some sectarian overtones, were thwarted somewhat when Bishop Trocellier balked at the implications of a similar foundation at Tuktoyaktuk. However, the administration did not learn the degree to which Catholic educational interests were opposed to Moore's recommendations (which exercised sinaitic influence upon the deliberations of Council's subcommittee on education) until an attempt was made to have a day school at Hay River. As the network of Indian and territorial schools expanded, the church, finding its pre-1945 authority waning, vigorously resisted attempts by the burgeoning number of federal agencies to relegate it to a subsidiary and increasingly restricted role in matters over which it once held virtual sovereignty. Whereas the church, at least until the early 1940's, had always been praised as well as encouraged by the government for its schooling efforts, it found during the Hay River embroglio that its desire to have separate confessional schools was countered by legal and fiscal arguments from its former ally, categorically rejecting any such possibility. With the opportunities for proselytism virtually over by the late 1940's, the church also found many of its native adherents easily lured by the secular blandishments offered them in such places as day schools where, notwithstanding the denomination of the teacher, religion seemed more of

an afterthought than the central core of the instructional programme . Secure in its stronghold at McPherson and content with arrangements at Smith, Yellowknife, and Tuktoyaktuk, the Anglican church's acceptance of the government's schooling programme diminished any hope the Oblates may have had, in their struggle for confessionality, to arrange an alliance with their former rivals. Indeed, if anything, the Anglican church's reaction to the federal-territorial arrangements served to underline the Catholic church's intransigence and its preoccupation with holding on to a system which appeared no longer viable nor necessary.

The native-wilderness equation, which had been the fundamental axiom of federal northern policy, was found wanting by welfare teachers and other proponents of the new social order who affirmed that the life chances of native people were much greater than had been previously envisaged. The Catholic church was dubious about abandoning the equation, fearing the consequences which would result from its communicants being drawn into a non-confessional orbit, and while it re-affirmed its belief in the value of traditional life patterns, it attempted to facilitate the transition through agencies under its control. The resulting church-state dialogue, from which the natives were excluded as a matter of course, seldom if ever focussed on the problems of acculturation or on the impact upon the native people which the various courses of action were having. One of the major causes for this neglect could be assigned to the controversy engendered over the degree to which religion should influence the character of a rapidly developing school system. Just as the saving aspects of the wilderness

had assumed messianic proportions for church and state during the years of the entente, the government's school programmes took on the same dimensions, an assignment which only reinforced the church's conviction that it could not leave education in the hands of those who seemed bent on having non-sectarian schooling. As the drive to have a school for every child heightened, the church's penchant for monitoring, if not controlling, the education of every Catholic child increased, and as it devoted more and more of its resources to this end, like the government it soon ascribed a disproportionate significance to schooling, especially when other needs of the native people are called to mind.

Such long-sought gains as the inclusion of a parental option clause in the Indian Act of 1951 were more than mitigated by the practical difficulties of maintaining day and residential schools, particularly when offers of relief were usually predicated on the Catholic schools' abandoning some of their separateness. Equally debilitating was the advent of rival foundations at Smith, Simpson, and Aklavik that drew white and Métis pupils away from the mission institutions making their decided aboriginal character even more pronounced. As though awaiting a softening in the church's stand, it seemed that the state found a saving aspect, both fiscally and psychologically, in such obdurateness. While Trocellier showed a certain adroitness in rebutting directives from the administration to restrict (for reasons of economy) the mission schools' clientele, he found it a tortuous exercise nonetheless, heightened further by sallies from the same quarter to stop Anglican children from entering Catholic

residences, or by a sense of equity which required attainments at Aklavik or Chesterfield to be balanced by countermeasures at McPherson or Coppermine.

The absolutism of the church was replaced to a significant degree by a similar autocracy, beginning with Moore's centralizing penchant and culminating in a new school ordinance which accorded practically all power to the commissioner. The ordinance itself was prompted largely by Catholic manoeuvres with the government reacting predictably, adhering closely to the dictum that separate schooling could not be funded in the same measure as the public kind. This rationale, whatever its origin, had prevailed from the beginning of Catholic initiative at Providence. Under no circumstances could confessionality be fully subsidized, whether it concerned nurses' aides, Indian wards, reindeer apprentices, or the children of separate ratepayers. The church, as long as it persisted in having its way, was expected to contribute. That it could perform its schooling assignment more cheaply than the state compensated somewhat, especially to those who disliked being associated with proselytism. The issuance of regulations regarding textbooks was hurried when it was learned that church-oriented schools were using texts with religious references. Restrictions on the use of French, and the time for prayer and religious instruction, not to speak of religious symbols or dress, further circumscribed the confessionality of these schools, as the state moved to establish its presence and make its sovereignty known.

Catholic educational interests initially viewed the Lesage plan as a harbinger of improved church-state schooling relations, but when its terms became manifest, the church, notwithstanding its dissatisfaction

with the plan's outcome, found itself in the unenviable position of being one of its principal defenders. Trocellier, after finally agreeing to the Smith arrangement, sought to extricate himself by vainly attempting to use the Resolution school as a lever for a separate Catholic institution in Smith. Although Trocellier had refused a 'combined school' for Yellowknife, he found it virtually impossible to argue against the reasonableness, if not the inevitability, of the Simpson and Inuvik proposals, even though the closing of the remaining mission schools was an integral part of these arrangements. Although the church viewed the confessional concessions within the state system to be minimal, it nonetheless considered them important. Its stance, which whether in staffing or instructional matters often made it appear intransigent, was prompted by a consciousness of what had been lost and by a conviction that unless it remained vigilant even the remaining vestiges of confessionalism would disappear. Already burdened by a general melancholy resulting from the phasing out of the mission schools, some missionaries were convinced that the federal educational system was the outcome of an anti-Catholic conspiracy. The government on the other hand, could refer to legislation, long-established policies, or to specific agreements between itself and the church to defend its position, demonstrating at the same time its good intent by scrupulously adhering to these guidelines. Whenever the latter appeared unworkable or irrational, such as separate denominational rooms or wings, the state invariably justified the condition by referring to the historical interest of the church and by implication assigning to that agency the onus of providing an answer.

In contrast to the apathy toward schooling, whatever its form, of most native communities, the impetus to have a Catholic school in Yellowknife was sustained by the local parish; but once the separate school issue became a matter of public controversy, Trocellier, at the prompting of his advisors, lent his support to the venture. The ensuing debate was often characterized by the same themes that accompanied the structuring of the federal system in the traditional settlements. While recognizing the right to separate schools, the government sought to bring about a modus vivendi in Yellowknife which would allow a tolerable level of confessionality at reasonable cost. The response of separate school supporters was that fiscal arguments were subordinate to the right to separate schooling. At the same time it was pointed out that a duplication of facilities would not lead to a like increase in cost; if anything, a separate school might well in the long run effect a general saving. Viewing the separate school question from the relatively safe position of financial accountability, the government seemed oblivious to the consequences of ethnic separation and the funding requirements of different classes of pupils. Separate school supporters, on the other hand, not wanting to emphasize the ethnicity of separatism, had to avoid this factor in their demands for financial equity, for not to have done so, would have emphasized the ethnic rather than the religious outcome of separation. In like manner, the advocates of separation in petitioning for subsidies were reluctant to include conditions which would have realized the goals of Catholic educators, which were largely unchanged from those enjoyed by their co-religionists in the early years of the old territories; the consensus being that it would be inexpedient to expect such

autonomy until such time as a viable publicly-supported, separate institution had been realized. The strategy may have been somewhat dubious, but it seemed realistic, especially when the history of confessional schooling in most English-speaking areas of the country was taken into account.

Although the opening of St. Patrick's school vindicated the efforts of a small number of laymen and priests, its status was not unlike that of the early mission schools where the church, in the absence of a laity able to pay its share, was the principal funding agent. Moreover, the restoration of high school grants, and the establishment of the Hay River district served to extend the church's indebtedness to a system which, although Catholic in name, was far from being the kind which the church had fashioned in the period between the wars, and more important, one which only slightly reflected the prototype laid down by Pius XI in his encyclical. Autonomy in educational affairs was no longer possible - even Grandin College was eventually drawn into the federal orbit - and while there was a tendency to hold on to what was left, it was hardly a heartening exercise for the missionaries, as they became increasingly aware of their peripheral role, to preside at the dissolution of something which had motivated so many.

Conclusion

From the time of the foundation of the mission school at Providence until the establishment of a separate school at Hay River, the Oblate Weltanschauung remained essentially the same. Dedicated to Christianizing the aboriginal people, the church, as the gathering point the social heart-of the community, counted on the devotion of its Indian, Métis,

and Eskimo adherents, seeking, at the same time to secure their secular as well as spiritual welfare. For years the formula worked reasonably well, a modus vivendi was reached with the fur companies; the Anglican church was overwhelmed in most Indian settlements; the advance into Eskimo territory looked promising; and the government, although a reluctant provider, did nothing to discountenance the hoped-for aboriginal commonwealth. Schooling was viewed as an adjunct to proselytism, as a means of countering Anglicanism, and as a method of preparing the native child for the subsistence economy of the wilderness. Native schooling was not designed to enable graduates to assume positions of power, as these were reserved for the hierarchies within the church, the company, and the government, all of whom were autocratic, conservative, and fundamentally racist in character. To the missionaries, who were either disenchanted or unfamiliar with democratic institutions, there was an Aquinian sureness about what they were doing, a confidence in absolutism and orthodoxy, and an unwillingness to ready themselves or their followers for the inevitable coming of secular and democratic institutions to the North.

Unlike the church, whose mandate was based on immutable directives, the state was not restricted by such encumbrances. Thus, with the coming of white entrepreneurs, it did not find it difficult to disengage itself from its traditional partners and to affirm its support for many of the newcomers' demands, including those for improved forms of schooling. Of course the state had to adhere to existing legislation,

but once this was closely scrutinized, it found that it had more than enough power to break the mission system. Having assumed responsibility for education, it was not difficult for the government to abandon the native-wilderness equation or to make it known that it was no longer in sympathy with the kind of schooling provided by the church. To the missionaries, this change of mind was nothing less than a betrayal; and from then on, the government's educational policies were continually suspect. The church's traditional clientele, having never been consulted about schooling, had nothing to say about the substitution of one paternalism for another, thereby leaving the sectarian controversy which accompanied the rise of the federal system to the missionaries to resolve. That the church was unable to muster popular support for its educational objectives contrasted markedly with the persistent demands for secular schooling by the predominantly non-Catholic white minority. The schooling aspirations of the latter (rather than the church's) who claimed to represent the inarticulate native majority, became those of the state; so much so, in fact, that the government became increasingly impatient with its former partner which seemed alone in not wanting to accept the popular will.

It is against the background of sudden change in the government's attitude, alongside the relatively static position of the church and its clientele, that church-state relations in education must be considered. In reviewing the evolution of federal educational strategy, the following conclusions can be reached. First, in general terms, it can be said that the state, notwithstanding intimations to the contrary, was not only aware (at least from the last quarter of the nineteenth century) of the condition

of the native people in the district, but it was also fully cognizant of its responsibilities to them. Second, it is also apparent that the state used the church to achieve as well as maintain sovereignty in Canada's North, to subjugate and control the native population, and to act as its agent, in proportion to the degree of governmental expenditure, for a carefully funded and deliberate educational programme. In the final analysis, therefore, the above must be considered an integral part of its record of sovereignty for which, notwithstanding any assignments, it remains accountable. Third, acting as a mediator between the churches, the state attempted, not without success, to delineate respective areas of proselytism, thereby restricting the advance of both and limiting the extension of missionary education. At the same time, the state in yielding to pressures from the churches, permitted sectarianism in law and practice, to be the sine qua non of northern education. Fourth, by failing to enact appropriate educational legislation or to enunciate and maintain policies in keeping with the needs of the native people, the state relegated them to a status which made it all but impossible for them to achieve the goals which the state publicly affirmed were within reach. In like manner, although the state yielded to demands for separate schools, it so structured their financing that the children concerned were denied many benefits available to their peers within the public-federal system. Fifth, there is some evidence that the state favoured Anglican ambitions over those of the Catholic church, if for no other reason than that many of its agents were English-speaking non-Catholics who, either because of a lack of understanding of Catholic goals or difficulties

in communication, found the Anglican church's position more reasonable and ultimately more in accord with the public good. There is also an indication that Catholic laymen, whether elected representatives or appointed officers, despite their sympathy with the church's educational philosophy were reluctant to unequivocally uphold the latter's point of view; and in attempting to act as mediators in disputes between the church and government, they not infrequently incurred the displeasure, if not the suspicion, of both. Sixth, as neither the residual territorial nor the federal government had much experience in education, and as both agencies relied almost exclusively on the advice of white-urban educationists, who because of lack of training, experience, or empathy, found it difficult to understand or reconcile their views with those of the church or the native people, it can be said that the federal government's northern education programme, was for the most part, an abrupt and ill-suited undertaking. Finally it is manifest that the state, having attempted to maintain some of the vested interests of the church, while giving considerable attention to the demands of the white minority in its new schooling programme, had few resources left to bring about the kind of changes promised the native majority in its press releases.

In summarizing the church's role in educational affairs, note should be made of some of its educational contributions which have been generally overlooked by most commentators. This exercise will also attempt to dispel certain myths about Catholic schooling activities, which are currently popular. Until the advent of revised hostel criteria in the 1950's, mission residential schools were fundamentally hostels for

unwanted, sick or destitute children. That most government and other observers have judged the success or failure of these institutions by receiving them as normal boarding schools has been based on a misunderstanding of their function. Despite their shortcomings these same schools were particularly successful in achieving the objectives fostered by public subsidies; however, when the mission system came under attack, the state did not make it known that the mission schools had largely met the standards which it had previously promulgated. It is also not generally known that the Catholic church's readiness to have additional schools was thwarted by the state's sense of equity, not to speak of its fiscal qualms, which did not countenance the expansion of Catholic institutions until there was evidence of proportionate Anglican initiative. The attempt to balance the success of either church was finally upset when Fleming took the initiative at McPherson and Tuktoyaktuk, thereby forcing the federal government to establish a requisite number of schools in Catholic settlements and to assume responsibility for them. Contrary to popular opinion, the existence of two competing churches was the best guarantee of native schooling opportunities. In places like Rae or Coppermine where the church was sovereign and untroubled by its competitor, no mission schools were established; however, whenever there was uncertainty about jurisdiction as at Providence, Resolution and Aklavik, the schooling manoeuvres of one party invariably prompted a response from the other. It is also not generally known that the church, particularly during the period between the wars, was virtually alone in attempting to initiate the improvements in the educational system, most of which were rejected by the state. There is also considerable evidence to refute the common

belief that the Eskimo was more inclined to Anglicanism and the Indian to Catholicism. What would appear to be more in accord with the facts is that the aborigine usually accepted and was faithful to the message brought by the first bearers of the gospel, providing their teaching was sustained. It is true, however, that the Catholic church in particular viewed schooling as a means of overcoming such constancy. Finally, there is little to suggest that the Catholic church opposed the establishment of public or Anglican schools, at least not to the degree that the proponents of the latter opposed Catholic foundations. What is clear, however, is that the Catholic church consistently wanted its own separate schools, believing that anything deviating from this type was less than desirable, and, at best, a temporary arrangement. It is equally clear that government officials and others expected the church to abandon this position.

The Oblates had more to do with the structure and development of Indian schooling in Canada than any other group, including the Indian people themselves. But as much of the congregation's effort, particularly at the hierarchial level, was devoted to the role that religion was to play in education, and as there were always unresolved issues of religious import between the Oblate lobby and the government, recommendations concerning other aspects of native development forthcoming from Oblate councils were never vigorously pursued. The vicarate did not have a bishop familiar with contemporary or Canadian trends in education until Piché's elevation, but his expertise was of little advantage, as his predecessors, whose impatience with the advice of their southern confrères was heightened by the perplexing demands of the newly arrived, had through neglect or obstinacy done much to bring about

the dissolution of the Catholic system. Although the Oblates never professed to be educators, some of them were quite knowledgeable about schooling, but the latter were not given to correcting Breynat or Trocellier or to advising them concerning alternate courses of action even in purely secular matters. The Grey Nuns, whose collective northern teaching experience was considerable, were even less disposed to request changes than the priests. Their rule, which stressed obedience, did not encourage such outspokenness, nor did it permit the assignment of one or two of them to a mission, a condition which not only ruled out the possibility of their staffing the increasing number of day schools, but one which also was a factor in the church's attempt to maintain large institutions even when their religious, not to speak of their pedagogical, worth became questionable. The bishop's autocratic power together with the uncompromising requirements of the rule assured a concerted response and unanimity of opinion, but, as many courses of action were prompted by a single intuitive grasp of a situation, or by adherence to directives which had little to do with northern realities, it is not surprising that the church was often charged with taking an inflexible and irrational approach.

Catholic initiative provided many more schools than the Anglican, making available at Aklavik, for example, a school by the mid-1930's for nearly every eligible Catholic Eskimo child in the western Arctic. The consequences of this strategy was to have certain long term results among which was the Lesage plan and the Anglican response to this and earlier federal initiatives. Other and less obvious outcomes of Catholic and to a lesser extent Anglican schooling included what came

to be a stigma of being the progenitor of what was judged to be an inferior type of schooling by those replacing the mission system. Needless to say, this opinion was passed on directly or indirectly to graduates of mission schools and was not without effect. To varying degrees, other churches, sects, and interests were given to reiterating this criticism, claiming no responsibility for what happened because of the recentness of their arrival.

In considering the nature of Catholic missionary activity, it must be borne in mind that most Oblates and Grey Nuns came North to work with the native people, and that most remained steadfast to their original commitment. This aboriginal orientation, when considered in the context of their French origin and the fact that their second language of proficiency was often a native dialect, did much to keep them apart from English-speaking Catholic and non-Catholic whites. If they had wished to serve in the parishes of Quebec or France, they could have done so, but most had deliberately rejected just such a vocation. After the war, however, there were increasing signs that this was what the northern apostolate was turning out to be. White Catholics who came to the district were given to assigning the same stereotypes to the natives as their non-Catholic brethren. Moreover, their urban orientation, the cultural and linguistic differences between them and the missionaries, as well as their propensity to expect more from the church than their numbers warranted, divided the missionaries' allegiance and detracted from their purpose. In terms of zeal Catholic lay teachers often left much to be desired, certainly few appeared as devoted or submissive as the sisters. White Catholics

were also apprehensive about the native bias of mission schooling; and in Yellowknife, responsibility for schooling was virtually taken from the missionaries with the establishment of a separate district governed by a lay board. This division within the church's membership made it difficult to achieve the kind of educational system it had in mind. At the same time, the missionaries' origins together with their aboriginal inclination, quite apart from religious issues, lessened the possibility of the church reaching a rapprochement with the state in educational matters. For, despite the fact that the church was becoming aware that its original commitment was turning out to be a cul-de-sac in terms of white-governmental relations, it found it difficult to change what had always been the rationale of its enterprise.

While the Mackenzie District was a remote and unimportant place to Canadians for nearly all the period under study, the church-state drama over schooling enacted there was typically Canadian, having its origins in the separate school debates in Upper and Lower Canada and the formulation of Indian treaties and legislation in the late nineteenth century. A relatively autonomous Catholic system existed there longer than anywhere else in Canada, except for Quebec's, which closely approximated the church's prototype. In time, however, it was subject to the same criticism which had been levelled at its counterparts in the provinces, and was finally dissolved, with its remnants being restructured in a unique and procrustean way, more or less in keeping with a majority opinion prevalent in most of English-speaking Canada that a separate system of Catholic education was not in the public interest. Many of the arguments and much of the rhetoric which

accompanied the controversy over confessional schooling in the south was reiterated in the Mackenzie. Coming as it did long after the issue had been generally resolved in other areas, the encounter is somewhat monotonous and repetitive, but the issue and the outcome is interesting nevertheless, reflecting as it does one of the major themes of the Canadian experience.

Recommendations for Further Study

Studies related to the subject of this investigation during the period reported might be:

(1) an account of the educational relations between the Anglican church in the Northwest Territories and the territorial and federal governments.

(2) an account of the educational relations between the Catholic church and the territorial and federal governments in the eastern Arctic.

(3) an account of the educational relations between the churches and the federal, territorial, provincial, and commission governments in Arctic Quebec and Labrador.

(4) an analysis of the Westwater (1960) and Tucker (1965) reports (confidential government studies on northern education), together with related documents in terms of the major themes of the present study.

(5) an account of the relations between the Oblate congregation and the federal government in the field of Indian education.

(6) an account of the relations between the Protestant churches and the federal government in Indian education.

(7) a study of the Mackenzie fort records of the Hudson's Bay Company to the latest date of access for observations on Indian, Métis, and Eskimo and attitudes toward Catholic and Anglican missionary activity.

(8) a comparative analysis of Anglican and Catholic missionary reports from the Mackenzie and the attitudes expressed therein to native groups.

(9) oral accounts of their schooling by natives who registered either at Catholic or Anglican residential schools in the Mackenzie before the closing of Providence in 1960.

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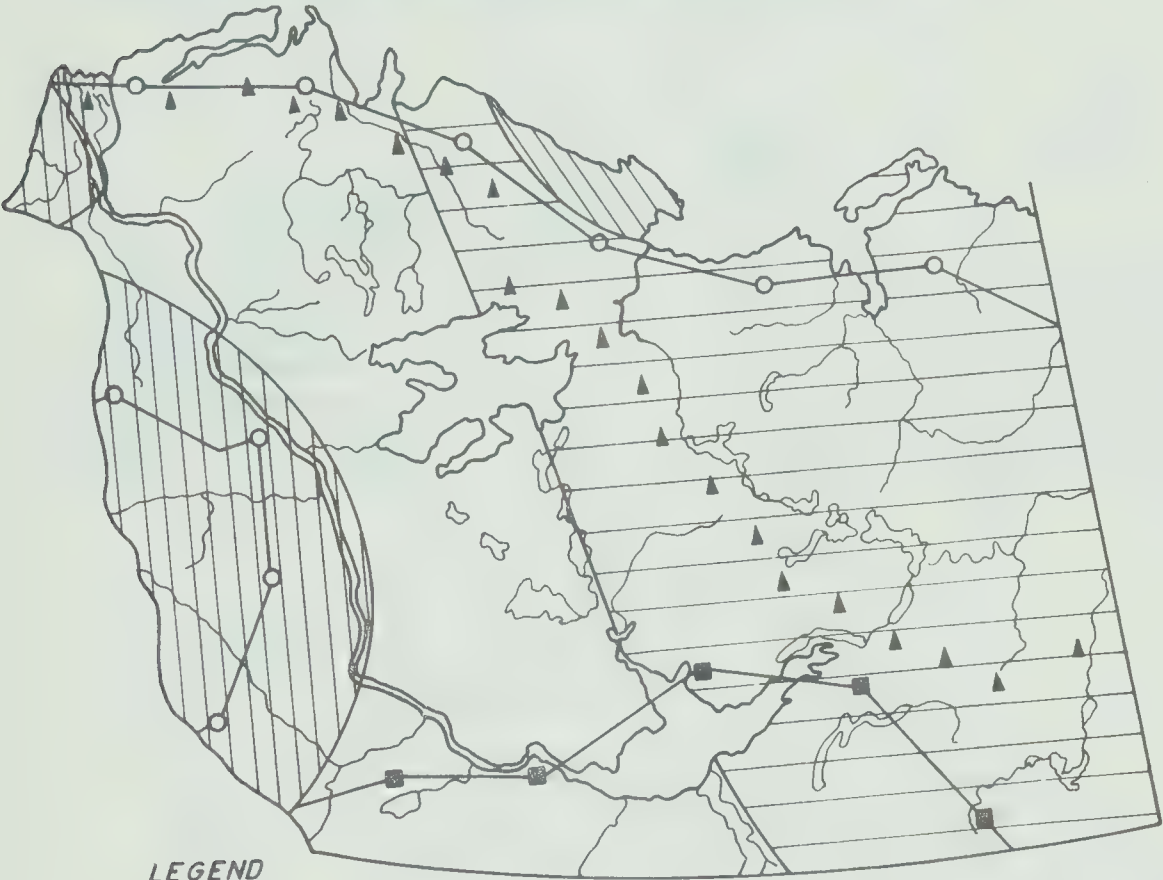
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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Figure 1

POLITICAL BOUNDARIES AND APPROXIMATE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AND CLIMATIC
REGIONS OF THE MACKENZIE DISTRICT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES*(1)



LEGEND

- ▨ CORDILLERA
- INTERIOR LOWLANDS
- ▤ PRE-CAMBRIAN SHIELD
- ▲ TREELINE
- PERMAFROST LINE
- ARCTIC CLIMATE ZONE(2)
- ◻ ARCTIC LOWLANDS

0 — 100
miles

*Source of data: Northwest Territories Today, 2-4, map; Bethune, map; Canada Gazette, Order in Council 655, March 16, 1918, 33.
(1). "The Provisional District of Mackenzie bound on the west by the Yukon Territory (vide Statutes of Canada, 1 Edw. VII, c.41, s.14 [1901] for Yukon boundary); on the south by the parallel of the sixtieth degree of north latitude; on the east by the second meridian D.L.S., and on the north by the continental shore of the Arctic Ocean. Revised Statutes of Canada, 1 Eliz. II, c.48 (1952).
(2). The remainder of the district is classified as sub-arctic.

Appendix A
Figure 2

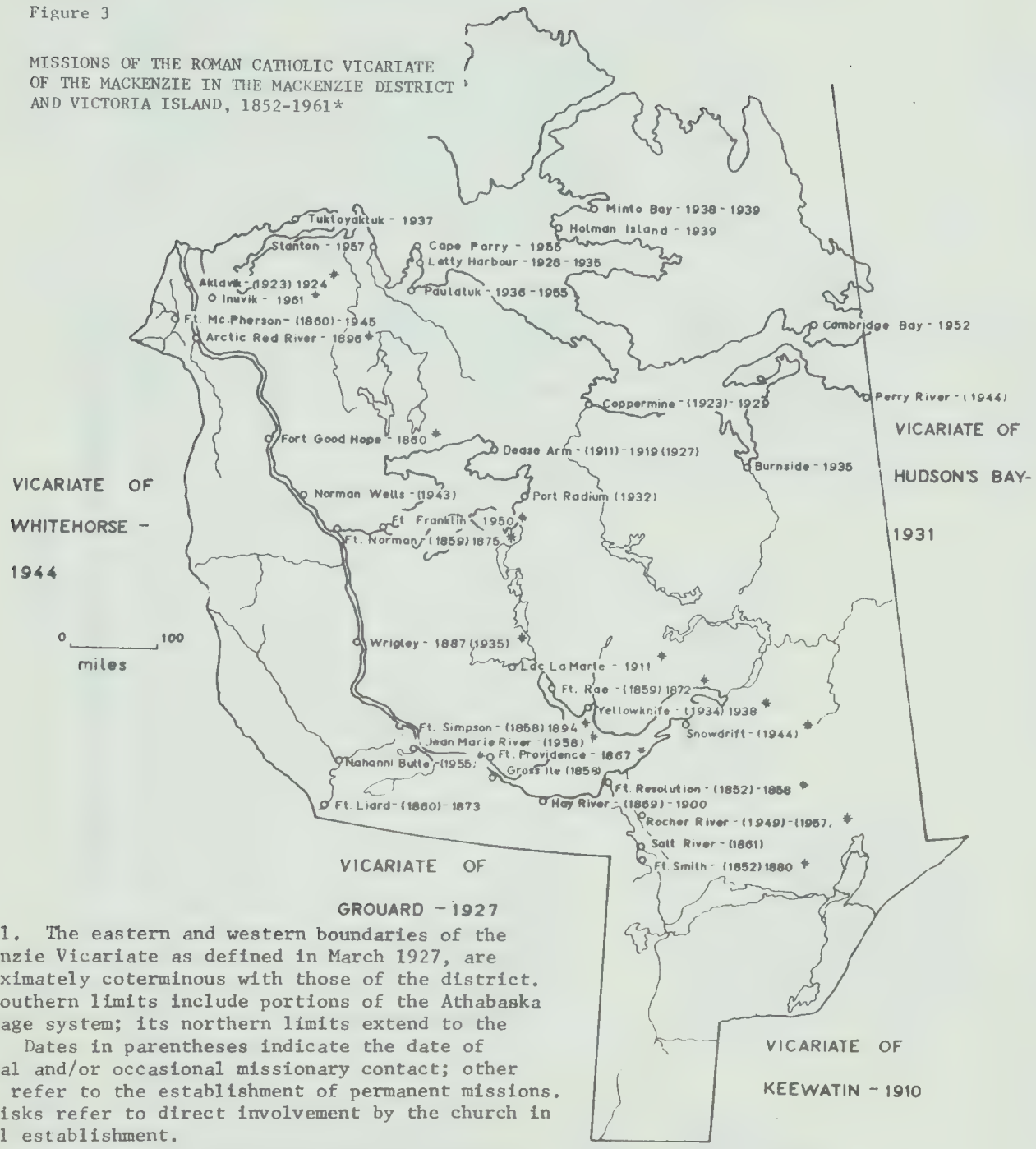
DISTRIBUTION OF DENE TRIBES: TREATY AREAS 8 AND 11 WITHIN THE
MACKENZIE: AND 1941 DISTRIBUTION OF ESKIMO AND INDIAN BANDS
IN THE MACKENZIE AND BANKS AND VICTORIA ISLANDS¹*



1. Asterisks indicate Eskimo bands. Dene distributions approximate linguistic areas in the early nineteenth century.
* Source of data: Treaties 8 and 11: Bethune, 51; Urquhart, 282; Robinson, 153.

Appendix A
Figure 3

MISSIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VICARIATE
OF THE MACKENZIE IN THE MACKENZIE DISTRICT
AND VICTORIA ISLAND, 1852-1961*



1. The eastern and western boundaries of the Mackenzie Vicariate as defined in March 1927, are approximately coterminous with those of the district. Its southern limits include portions of the Athabaska drainage system; its northern limits extend to the Pole. Dates in parentheses indicate the date of initial and/or occasional missionary contact; other dates refer to the establishment of permanent missions. Asterisks refer to direct involvement by the church in school establishment.

*Source of data: Mission Files, AVM, 1852-1961; DIOCESE OF ST. PAUL - 1948 Grouard, *passim*; D. Roche (ed.), Ecclesiastical Directory, (Edmonton: WRC, 1966), 83.

Appendix B

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS (1910)*

The Programme of studies herein prescribed shall be followed by the teacher as far as the circumstances of his school permit. Any modifications deemed necessary shall be made only with the concurrence of the Department.

Subject	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V	Standard VI
English	Word recognition and sentence making. Simple sounds of letters of alphabet. Copying words.	Sounds continued. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Dictation of words learnt and of simple sentences.	Sounds completed. Simple homonyms explained. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Sentences dictated. Compose sentences about objects and actions.	Sounds reviewed. Sentence enlargement. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing. Simple composition, oral and written, reviewing work on general knowledge course.	Enlargement and correction of sentences continued. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing continued. Easy, oral and written, composition, reviewing general knowledge course.	Analysis of simple sentences. Parts of speech. Orthography, oral and written. Letter and writing continued. Oral and written composition, reviewing general knowledge course.
General Knowledge	Facts concerning things in school. Develop what is already known. Days of week, month.	The seasons. Measures of length and weight in common use. Colours. Commence animal and vegetable kingdoms, their parts and uses, cultivation, growth, & c. Things in and about the school and their parts.	Animal and vegetable kingdoms continued. Money. The useful metals.	Animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms continued. Uses of railways and ships. Explain manufacture of articles in common use. The races of man.	Same enlarged. Laws regarding fires, game, & c., of daily use.	Social relations. Seats of Government in Canada. System of representation and justice. Commerce and exchange of products.
Writing	Elementary strokes and words on tablets. Large round hand.	Words & c., on tablets. Large round hand.	Tablets and copy book No. 1. Medium round hand.	Copy books Nos. 2 & 3. Medium round hand.	Copy books Nos. 4 & 5. Small round hand.	Copy books Nos. 6 & 7. Small round hand.

Subject	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V	Standard VI
Geography			Development of geographical notions by reference to geographical features of neighborhood. Elementary lessons on direction, distance, extent.	<p>(a) Review of work of Standard 3. Lessons to lead to simple conception of the earth as a great ball, with surface of land and water, surrounded by the air, lighted by the sun, and with two motions.</p> <p>(b) Lessons on natural features first from observation, afterwards by aid of moulding board, pictures and blackboard illustrations.</p> <p>(c) Preparations for and introduction of maps. (Review of lessons in position distance, direction, with representation drawn to scale.) Study of map of vicinity drawn on blackboard. Maps of natural features drawn from moulded forms. Practice in reading conventional map symbols on outline maps.</p>	<p>Simple study of the important countries in each continent. Province in which school is situated and Canada to be studied first.</p> <p>The position of the country in the continent; its natural features, climate, productions, its people, their occupations, manners, customs, noted localities, cities & c. Moulding boards and mapping to be aids in the study.</p>	<p>(a) The earth as a globe. Simple illustrations and statements with reference to form, size, meridians and parallels, with their use; motions and their effects, as day and night, seasons, zones, and their characteristics, as winds and ocean currents, climate as affecting the life of man.</p> <p>(b) Physical features and conditions of North America, South America and Europe, studied and compared. Position on the globe; position relative to other grand divisions, size, form, surface, drainage, animal and vegetable life, resources & c. Natural advantages of the cities.</p>

Subject	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V	Standard VI
Arithmetic	Numbers 1 to 10: their combinations and separations, oral and written. The signs +, -, x, ÷. Count to 10 by ones, twos, threes & c. Use and meaning one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth (no figures). Making and showing one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth, one-third, one-sixth, one-ninth, one-fifth, problems, introducing gallons in peck, one-tenth, one-seventh (no figures). Simple problems. Oral.	Numbers 10 to 25: their combinations & separations (oral & written.) Count to 25 by ones, twos, threes, & c. Use and meaning of one-half, one-third, one-fourth, and c., to one twenty-fifth (no figures). Relation of halves, fourths, eighths, thirds, ninths (no figures). Simple problems, introducing gallons in bushel, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pound, current coins up to 25 c. Addition in columns, no total to exceed 25.	Numbers 25 to 100: their combinations and separations, oral and written. Count to 100 by ones, twos, threes, & c., to tens. Use and meaning of one-twenty-seventh, & c., to one-one-hundredth (no figures). Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions of Standard 2. Roman numerals I to C. Simple problems, introducing seconds in minutes, minutes in hours, hours in day, pounds in bushel, sheets in quire, quires in ream.	Numeration & notation to 10,000. Simple rules to 10,000. Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions already known (figures). Introduce terms numerator, denominator, & c. Roman notation to 2,000. Graded problems, introducing remaining reduction tables. Daily practice in simple rules to secure accuracy and rapidity.	Notation & numeration completed. Formal reductions. Vulgar fractions applied to decimals to thirtyeths. Denominate fractions. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Graded problems. Reading & writing decimals to thousandths inclusive.	Factors, measures and multiples. Vulgar fractions completed. Easy application of decimals to ten-thousandths. Easy application of square and cubic measures. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Easy application of percentage. Graded problems.

Subject	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V	Standard VI
Ethics	The practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness.	Right and wrong. Truth. Continuance of proper appearance and behavior.	Independence. Self-respect. Develop the reasons for proper appearance and behavior.	Industry. Honesty. Thrift...	Citizenship of Indians. Patriotism. Industry. Thrift. Self-Maintenance. Charity. Pauperism.	Indian and white life. Patriotism. Evils of Indian isolation. Enfranchisement. Labour the law of life. Relations of the sexes as to labour. Home and public duties.
Reading	First Primer.....	Second Primer....	Second Reader.....	Third Reader... Fourth Reader...	Fifth Reader.....	
Recitations	To begin in Standard 2, are to be in line with what is taught in English, and developed into pieces of verse and prose which contain the highest moral and patriotic maxims and thoughts.					
History			Stories of Indians of Canada and their civilization.	History of province in which school is situated.	Canadian History (commenced)	Canadian History (continued)
Vocal Music	Simple songs and Hymns. The subjects of the former to be interesting and patriotic. The tunes bright and cheerful.					
Calisthenics	Exercises, frequently accompanied by singing, to afford variation during work and to improve physique.					
Religious Instruction	Scripture Reading. The Ten Commandments. Lord's Prayer. Life of Christ, & c., & c.					
Note - English	Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to understand it; unless they do the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted.					
Reading -	Pupils must be taught to read loudly and distinctly. Every word and sentence must be fully explained to them, and from time to time they should be required to state the sense of a lesson or sentence, in their own words, in English, and also in their own language if the teacher understands it.					
General -	Instruction is to be direct, the voice and blackboard being the principal agents. The unnecessary use of text books to be avoided.					

N.B. -- It will be considered a proof of the incompetency of a teacher, if pupils are found to read in "parrot fashion" only i.e. without in the least understanding what they read. And the following remark applied to all teaching, viz.: - Everything must be thoroughly understood, before a pupil is advanced to further studies.

* Fort Simpson (1918-1928), Indian School Daily Register (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910).

Appendix C

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS*

The PROGRAMME OF STUDIES herein prescribed shall be followed by the teacher as far as the circumstances of the school permit. Any modifications deemed necessary should be made only with the sanction of the Branch.

Textbooks

While in the case of most subjects, Provincial textbooks are used, it should be noted that the Indian Affairs Branch prescribes certain books which have been found specially suitable for Indian Schools. Particulars regarding these books may be obtained on application to the Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa.

Requisitions.

When preparing requisitions for school material ask only for those texts authorized above. The Indian Affairs Branch requires you to adhere strictly to this rule. Teachers will please not the instructions on the "Requisition of School Material" form No. 413. Indian agents will supply these forms.

TEACHERS - NOTE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS

Language

Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it. Insist on English even during the supervised play. Failure in this means wasted efforts. (In some schools in Quebec, where French is the classroom language, the word "French" should be substituted in the above instruction where the word "English" appears.)

Reading

Do not hear the children read, teach them to read. Do not use the phonic method to teach beginners unless it is for children with serious disabilities. Remember reading is a basic skill. Great care should be taken to teach it properly. The primary division members should be grouped and regrouped for reading practice upon the basis of their reading ability and not upon the time spent in school. Pupils should be tested at the beginning of each year and grouped accordingly. Apply remedial measures whenever necessary.

Vocational
Instruction

Teachers are expected to emphasize the importance of vocational instruction. Dressmaking, crochet work, knitting, hand loom weaving, elementary domestic science, gardening and care of poultry are recommended for girls, and elementary carpentry

work, general shop, Indian handicraft, gardening and poultry raising for boys. At residential schools the care of live stock, auto mechanics and cultivation of land should be emphasized. Cultivation should conform to the requirements of the home of each pupil. This is especially true of residential schools where pupils come from different reserves.

Physical Education

Lay stress on physical activities that will strengthen the chest and neck. Special attention should be given to outdoor group games, supervised play and exercises, accompanied by singing, to afford variation and improve physique.

Vocal Music

Simple songs and hymns; the theme of the former to be interesting and patriotic; the tunes bright and cheerful.

Religious Instruction

Scriptural reading, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Life of Christ, etc.

Character Training.

Teachers will strive to develop the spirit of responsibility among the children, giving responsibility in turn, even in small things: gathering books, pencils, etc. for the smaller ones. Give greater responsibility as the child advances in age. Commend success and tactfully reprimand failures. Teachers will stress obedience, courtesy, cleanliness, self-respect, thrift, self-maintenance and patriotism. Cultivate honesty and the spirit of fair play. Teach respect of law, order, authority and public property. Explain the relation of the sexes as to labour, home and public duties.

Health Education

The object of health education is to have the pupils form worth-while habits. Habits cannot be taught in the traditional way as book-learning, but must be acquired by constant practice. Methods must be worked out by the teacher, who will have the pupils make health posters, join classroom health activities and health games, etc. It is of the utmost importance that Indian pupils be taught to recognize the value of a well balanced diet. Recommend the use of meat, milk and vegetables. The teacher should stress the relationship of such diet to physical fitness, growth and general health.

Great care must be exercised by the teacher to see that the schoolroom is kept thoroughly clean. The floor should be swept daily and scrubbed

frequently. The air in the schoolroom should be completely changed during recess and at the noon hour, even in the coldest weather, by the opening of windows and doors. Spitting on the floor, or inside the school building should not be allowed. Cleanliness in the classroom as well as in the surrounding buildings and school yard is a definite phase of health education. Great stress will be emphasized on these by the teacher:

General

Whenever possible the teachers will employ the activity programme. Teachers must keep in mind that the textbook is but an educational instrument. Pupils must be well grouped according to their ability. Objective achievement tests should be used as frequently as necessary.

- * Providence Residential School (1945-1946), Daily Register for Recording the Attendance of Indian School Pupils (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau; n.d.)

Appendix D

RECAPITULATION OF MOORE'S RECOMMENDATIONS*A. Pertaining to Educational Organization and Administration
in the Northwest Territories

-
1. It is recommended that there should be just one authority in control of all education (Indian, mixed-blood and white) which is supported by public funds in the Northwest Territories. Under present conditions this authority should be the governing body of the Northwest Territories acting through a Director of Education who must reside in the Northwest Territories.
 2. It is further recommended that the administration of education in the Northwest Territories should be of the highly centralized type. The degree of centralization should be subject to periodical review, say every ten years, with a view to reduction of centralization as much as possible.
 3. It is further recommended that the resident Director of Education should have wide powers and a very free hand to organize and administer the educational system in the Northwest Territories within the limits of policy and regulations laid down by the governing body of the Northwest Territories.
 4. It is further recommended that an Educational Council be constituted to act in a purely advisory capacity to the Director of Education. This Council should not be clothed with legislative, judicial or executive powers.
 5. It is further recommended that all teachers in the publicly supported schools in the Northwest Territories should be members of the federal Civil Service with special provision for Sabbatical Year after each five years of teaching in the Northwest Territories.
 6. In addition to possessing First Class Professional Certification teachers in the Northwest Territories should have a year of special training for this type of work.
 7. Having regard for all the circumstances at present existing in the Northwest Territories it is further recommended that Separate Schools should not be included in any publicly supported system of education which may be established in the Northwest Territories. This is not to be construed as a condemnation of Separate Schools per se.
 8. It is further recommended that legal provision be made under which the last half-hour of the regular school day may be devoted exclusively to denominational religious teaching where so desired.

The Law in this respect in the Province of Manitoba is probably as good as anywhere and its adaptation for use in the Northwest Territories is hereby recommended.

9. It is further recommended that the legislation concerning education in the Northwest Territories be thoroughly reviewed and brought up-to-date having due regard for present conditions.

B. Miscellaneous Recommendations

10. A middle-of-the way curriculum is recommended; i.e., one which is not too academic and which includes suitable occupational courses and activities together with adequate instruction in health and hygiene.
11. It is recommended that the general principle of taking suitable white man's education to the natives in their own environment as much as possible be tried out as an experimental basis as soon as possible along the following lines:
 - (a) that a suitable school barge (or barges) be fitted up to be tried out during the summer months at the rendezvous centres along the southern and eastern shores of Great Slave Lake (health, conservation, adult education, etc., might be included in the programme).
 - (b)
 - (i) that a community centre project along the lines suggested in Mr. Dempsey's memorandum be tried out at the site of the former Salt River Settlement. This must be carefully planned and supervised on a long-range basis.
 - (ii) that some similar but not so elaborate project be tried out at some specially selected camp-site among the Eskimo; e.g., in the Coppermine area.
 - (c) that specially selected natives, both Indian and Eskimo and of both sexes, after suitable training be returned to their native environment, to live among and serve as teachers and counsellors to their tribes and bands. This might be tried out experimentally with any half-a-dozen specially selected tribes and bands.
12. That compulsory education be enforced insofar as the conditions of the area will permit.¹
13. That a Teachers' Convention and Institute be held annually in the

1. The School Ordinance of the North West Territories, 1901, chapter 75, secs. 144 to 148 makes provision for compulsory education.

Mackenzie District to which outstanding lecturers will be brought from the "outside" at public expense.

14. That a Mackenzie River Library Project similar to that of the Fraser River Valley be carried out. Wherever feasible the schools should be utilized for library centres.
15. That insofar as practicable every school in the Mackenzie District be utilized as a community centre.
16. That itinerant schoolmasters be tried out on two circuits:
 - (a) to serve Fort Simpson, Fort Providence, Hay River and Fort Resolution:
 - (b) to serve Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River, Fort Good Hope and Fort Norman.
17. That short courses for adult natives (Indians, Eskimo, mixed-blood), even though they are illiterate, be tried out during the summer months in many of the residential schools (which usually are not in operation during the summer months) as possible. These courses should be largely occupational (motor mechanics, prospecting, mining, etc.) With some inspirational material and the utilization of motion pictures, radio, and such adult education techniques as can be adapted.
18. That suitable adaptations of the Danish Folk High School be tried out in one or two specially selected residential schools after they have been taken over by the state.
19. That a fully-equipped Occupational Training Centre be established at Yellowknife as soon as possible.
20. That the governing body of the Northwest Territories offer scholarships and bursaries for selected natives and whites to take special training, both within the Northwest Territories and "outside" for service as teachers and social workers in the Northwest Territories. (Some of the trading, mining and other interests might also be induced to do likewise).

* Moore Manuscript, 57-59.

Appendix E

RESUME OF MINISTERS, DEPUTY MINISTERS
(COMMISSIONERS), DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS
AND MACKENZIE DISTRICT TERRITORIAL AND
FEDERAL REPRESENTATION 1945-1961 *Ministers of Mines and Resources

T.A. Crerar	1937-1945
J.A. Glen	1945-1947
J.A. MacKinnon	1947-1948
C. Gibson	1948-1949

Minister of Resources and Development

R.H. Winters	1950-1953
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Ministers of Northern Affairs and
National Resources

<u>J. Lesage</u>	1953-1957
D. Harkness	1957-1957
A. Hamilton	1957-1960
W. Dinsdale	1960-1963

Commissioners

C. Camsell	1936-1946
H.L. Keenleyside	1947-1950
H.A. Young	1950-1953
R.G. Robertson	1953-1963

Deputy Commissioners

R.A.J. Gibson	1921-1950
F.J.G. Cunningham	1951-1957
W.G. Brown	1957-1966

Appointed Members of Council

H.L. Keenleyside	1941-1945
A.L. Cumming	1932-1947
K.R. Daly	1932-1947
H.W. McGill	1932-1945
S.T. Wood	1938-1951
R.A. Hoey	1945-1948
H.R. Godwin	1947-1951
D.M. MacKay	1948-1953
J.G. McNiven	1946-1951
<u>Louis de la C. Audette</u>	1947-1959
W.I. Clements	1951-1954

L.H. Nicholson	1951-1960
<u>J. Boucher</u>	1953-1957
C.M. Drury	1953-1957
H.M. Jones	1957-1963
<u>D.M. Coolican</u>	1961-1963
<u>L.A. DesRochers</u>	1960-1963
I.N. Smith	1961-1963

Elected Members of Council

J. Brodie	1951-1954 Mackenzie South
F. Carmichael	1951-1954 Mackenzie West
<u>M. Hardie</u>	1951-1954 Mackenzie North
F. Carmichael	1954-1957 Mackenzie Delta
R. Porritt	1954-1957 Mackenzie South
J.W. Goodall	1954-1957 Mackenzie River
J. Parker	1954-1957 Mackenzie North
K. Lang	1957-1960 Mackenzie Delta
J. Parker - E.J. Gall	1957-1960 Mackenzie North
R. Porritt	1957-1960 Mackenzie South
J.W. Goodall	1957-1960 Mackenzie River
K. Lang	1960-1963 Mackenzie Delta
E.J. Gall	1960-1963 Mackenzie North
A.P. Carey - P.W. Kaeser	1960-1963 Mackenzie South
J.W. Goodall	1960-1963 Mackenzie River

Members of Parliament

A.J. Simmons	1948-1953 Yukon-Mackenzie River Liberal
<u>M.A. Hardie</u>	1953-1961 Mackenzie District Liberal
<u>T. Hardie</u>	1961-1963 Mackenzie District Liberal

* Names underlined indicate Roman Catholic affiliation

1. Flanagan, Appendices II-III; Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation July 1, 1867 - January 1, 1957 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1957), passim; The Canadian Who's Who (1964-1966), X, passim.

Appendix F *

EXTRACT FROM THE INDIAN ACT, 1951

SCHOOLS

Schools

113. The Governor in Council may authorize the Minister, in accordance with this Act,
- (a) to establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children,
 - (b) to enter into agreements on behalf of His Majesty for the education in accordance with this Act of Indian children, with
 - (i) the government of a province,
 - (ii) the council of the Northwest Territories
 - (iii) the council of the Yukon Territory
 - (iv) a public or separate school board, and
 - (v) a religious or charitable organization.

Regulations

114. The Minister may
- (a) provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education, inspection and discipline in connection with schools,
 - (b) provide for the transportation of children to and from school,
 - (c) enter into agreements with religious organizations for the support and maintenance of children who are being educated in schools operated by those organizations, and
 - (d) apply the whole or any part of moneys that would otherwise be payable to or on behalf of a child who is attending a residential school to the maintenance of that child at that school.

Attendance

115. (1) Subject to section one hundred and sixteen, every Indian child who has attained the age of seven years shall attend school.

Idem.

- (2) The Minister may
- (a) permit an Indian who has attained the age of six years to attend school,
 - (b) require an Indian who becomes sixteen years of age during the school term to continue to attend school until the end of that term, and
 - (c) require an Indian who becomes sixteen years of age to attend school for such further period as the Minister considers advisable, but no Indian shall be required to attend school after he becomes eighteen years of age.

When
attendance
not required

116. An Indian child is not required to attend school if the child
(a) is, by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause that is reported promptly to the principal, unable to attend school,
(b) has passed entrance examinations for high school,
(c) is, with the permission in writing of the superintendent, absent from school for a period not exceeding six weeks in each term for the purpose of assisting in husbandry or urgent and necessary household duties,
(d) is under efficient instruction at home or elsewhere, within one year after the written approval by the Minister of such instruction, or
(e) is unable to attend school because there is insufficient accommodation in the school that the child is entitled or directed to attend.

School
to be
attended

117. Every Indian child who is required to attend school shall attend such school as the Minister may designate, but no child whose parent is a Protestant shall be assigned to a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices and no child whose parent is a Roman Catholic shall be assigned to a school conducted under Protestant auspices, except by written direction of the parent.

Denomination
of teacher

120. (1) Where the majority of the members of a band belongs to one religious denomination the school established on the reserve that has been set apart for the use and benefit of that band shall be taught by a teacher of that denomination.

Idem.

(2) Where the majority of the members of a band are not members of the same religious denomination and the band by a majority vote of those electors of the band who were present at a meeting called for the purpose requests that day schools on the reserve should be taught by a teacher belonging to a particular religious denomination, the school on that reserve shall be taught by a teacher of that denomination.

Minority
religious
denominations.
classroom

121. A Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of any band may, with the approval of an under regulations to be made by the Minister, have a separate day school or day school established on the reserve unless, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, the number of children of school age does not so warrant.

Appendix G

EXTRACT FROM A DRAFT OF GENERAL REGULATIONS
FOR SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES -
INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH, DECEMBER 1, 1949.¹

1. Holidays ...and such other days, not exceeding five in number, as may be decided by the principal of a school operated by a religious denomination.
2. No religious instruction shall be permitted in any school from the opening of such school until one half hour previous to its closing in the afternoon (4 P.M.) after which time any such instruction desired by the local residents may be given.
- 3 Any child shall have the privilege of leaving the school room at the time at which religious instruction is commenced or of remaining without taking part in any religious instruction that may be given if the parents or guardians so desire.
- 4 The teacher shall encourage the pupils in the pursuit of learning, and inculcate by precept and example, respect of religion and the principals of Christian morality and the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, frugality, industry,...temperance and all other virtues.
- 5 Only those textbooks which have been approved by the Commissioner shall be used in the schools of the Northwest Territories.

Summary of Letter from McKinnon, R. Bouchard
(District of Administrator, Aklavik), and J.W. Burton
(District Administrator, Fort Smith), dated December 21,
1949, and the Sub-Committee's Subsequent Ruling (underlined),
dated January 13, 1950.²

2. From discussions on educational problems with resident parents of pupils attending our day schools at various points, the religious phase of education is far from being a healthy situation. The situation has, at the present time reached such proportions, that it could quite easily undermine the constructive educational work now being accomplished by Council and its field officers.
3. The reason this condition exists to-day can be directly attributed to the lack of approved overall policy, governing the religious phase of education. To rectify this disturbing situation, we recommend that;
 - (a) The school day period will in general terminate at 3:30 p.m. local time, or in special cases, at such time as will be established by the Superintendent of Education.

The school day period is fully set out in Sec. 133 of the School

Ordinance.

(b) During the school day period the authorized curriculum will be followed exclusively.

The teaching of the curriculum is covered by Section 158, subsection 1, of the School Ordinance.

(c) The school facilities will be made available for a period of one half hour immediately following the close of the school daily, for the purpose of religious education.

The provisions sic of a period for religious instruction is made in Sec. 137-8-9 of the School Ordinance.

(d) The use of the school facilities will be dependent on assurances from the religious organization using these facilities that:

- (1) the school property will not be abused
- (2) the cleanliness of the building will be maintained
- (3) adequate supervision of the children will be maintained, and
- (4) other provisions outlined hereunder

Sections 139, subsections 2, 9 and 10, and Sec. 140 of the School Ordinance places upon the teacher or principal of each school, full responsibility for discipline, care of school property and related matters. These responsibilities cannot be delegated to an individual who may be giving religious instruction for a short period of the day. The teacher must remain at the school during the whole period of instruction and must be present when the last pupils are dismissed. No assurances of the nature suggested in (d) are, therefore, necessary or authorized.

(e) These half-hour periods daily will be distributed weekly and equally amongst the various denominations concerned.

We feel that this is a matter which can be, and should be, dealt with by a friendly meeting and mutual understanding, between the teacher and the local church authorities.

(f) The religious educational period will not be the responsibility of the teaching staff, but will be the direct responsibility of the clergy or missionary delivering the religious educational lectures, including the dismissal of the pupils and their safe return home.

We refer you again to Sec. 137-8-9 of the School Ordinance. If the teacher desires to give religious instructions in accordance with these sections we see no reason why he should not do so, although it may be undesirable in certain instances. However, at such settlements as Fort MacPherson, where there is no resident minister of any denomination, we should be extremely careful not to deprive the children of an opportunity for religious education by any such reg-

ulation as you recommend. Such religious instruction by a teacher, however, must only be carried out in accordance with the ordinance, and not as a part of the normal duties of the teacher. We repeat, however, that the teacher, in any event must remain to dismiss the school for the day.

(g) The teacher will dismiss, at the close of school daily such pupils whose parents have not indicated in writing, to the teacher, that they wish their children to remain for the educational period.

Sections 138 and 139 of the School Ordinance deal very adequately with this matter.

(h) At the close of the religious educational period, the lecturer shall dismiss the pupils attending and will be responsible for their safe return home.

We have covered this recommendation heretofore, and we feel that you should now have full understanding of what this Administration expects of the teaching staff.

In view of the foregoing, it would appear that no amendment to the School Ordinance, nor additional regulations, are necessary to accomplish the intent of your recommendation.

1. 142/25-1, IAO. No copy of a final draft was seen nor is there any evidence that the above regulations were distributed.

2. McKinnon, Bouchard, and Burton to Gibson, December 21, 1949, NANR FILE, Fort Smith, N.W.T.; Gibson to McKinnon, January 13, 1950, ibid. McKinnon's letter was received at the Sub-Committee meeting on January 10, 1950, SOE.

Appendix H

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION, FORT SMITH
FEDERAL DAY SCHOOL (As Amended December 16, 1957)*

(Items in brackets refer to the text in the "Brief Statement of Arrangements For Organizing and Administering The Federal School at Fort Smith, November 28, 1957)*.

Primary and Secondary Buildings

- (1) The newly constructed school building will house 14 academic classrooms, two classrooms for industrial arts instruction and one classroom for home economics instruction. In it will be taught students residing in Fort Smith Settlement and in the federal hostel, in grades 1-9 inclusive.
- (2) The old school building will house 2 classrooms for grades 10-12 inclusive, and two classrooms for children of any grade who require special instruction in English or other subjects. In addition one of the basement rooms in this building may be used for kindergarten classes if required.

Organization of School

- (3) The two buildings will be operated as a single school unit to be known as the Fort Smith Federal Day School.
- (4) The school will function under the direction of a principal, who will be directly responsible to the Superintendent of Schools at Fort Smith.
- (5) The principal will be assisted by two vice-principals, one in each of the school buildings.

Administration of School

- (6) Each assistant principal will be responsible for the administration of the classrooms in his school building during school hours, the allocation of teaching staff in classrooms in his school buildings and the supervision during school hours of the teaching staff in his school building.
- (7) The principal will be responsible for the allocation of pupils to grades and classrooms.
- (8) On the basis of statistics now available, it is the intention that classroom arrangements in respect of Grades 1-9 inclusive will be as follows:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Religious Denomination</u>
1	100 (3 classrooms)	Solidly Roman Catholic
1	35 (1 classroom)	Mixed
2	40 (2 classrooms)	Solidly Roman Catholic
2 and 3	28 (1 classroom)	Mixed
3 and 4	29 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
4	28 (1 classroom)	Mixed
5	28 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
5	27 (1 classroom)	Mixed
6	23 (1 classroom)	Mixed
6 and 7	21 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
7 and 8	30 (1 classroom)	Mixed (in Old School Bldg.)
8 and 9	19 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic

The exact figures mentioned above may require adjustment to meet actual attendance requirements.

15. It is expected that the classroom and grade arrangements in the new school will be as follows:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Religious Denomination</u>
1	55 (2 classrooms)	Solidly Roman Catholic
1	25 (1 classroom)	Mixed
2	28 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
2 and 3	22 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
2 and 3	20 (1 classroom)	Mixed
2 and 3	20 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
3 and 4	20 (1 classroom)	Mixed
4 and 5	20 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
5	26 (1 classroom)	Mixed
6	26 (1 classroom)	Mixed
7 and 8	18 (1 classroom)	Solidly Roman Catholic
7 and 8	17 (1 classroom)	Mixed
9	13 (1 classroom)	Mixed

The remainder of the students attend appropriate classrooms in the high school operating in the old federal school.

Curriculum

- (9) The curriculum taught in the school will be the prescribed curriculum for schools in the Northwest Territories.

School Ordinance

- (10) The school will be operated in all respects in accordance with the School Ordinance and Regulations thereunder.

Special Arrangements

- (10) As the majority of the children in the school are Roman Catholic, the teachers are of the same faith in so far as it is possible to carry out this departmental policy, having reasonable regard to the requirements of the school and the availability of teachers.
- (11) As the majority of the children in Grades 1 to 9 inclusive are Roman Catholic the teachers of academic subjects in those grades will be of that faith. Teachers of non-academic subjects (such as home economics, wood-working, etc.,) will also be Roman Catholic if it is possible to secure qualified teachers of those subjects of the Roman Catholic faith.
- (12) Paragraph (11) does not apply in relation to one of the non-high school grade rooms of the high school building. Since there are at present only two high school classrooms and the children of Roman Catholic faith constitute the majority in those rooms the teachers of the two high school rooms (Grades 10-12) will both be of the Roman Catholic faith. The matter will be further considered if, at any time, children of the Roman Catholic faith should cease to constitute the majority.
- (13) Where there are two or more classrooms for a single grade, the Protestant children will be assigned to one room and the other room or rooms will be solidly Roman Catholic.
- (14) In academic classrooms where all the children are Roman Catholic, religious emblems may be displayed, Roman Catholic readers may be used for instruction purposes, and members of religious orders, wearing religious habit, may teach.
- (15) In rooms where there are both Roman Catholic and Protestant children, as an interim solution, denominational religious emblems will not be displayed, non-denominational readers will be used for instruction, and lay teachers will be employed. Roman Catholic readers may be used as supplementary readers for Roman Catholic children.
- (16) The arrangements set out in paragraph (15) are temporary measures in effect until there are enough Protestant children in attendance in any of the grades 1 to 9 inclusive to warrant the establishment of separate classrooms. When the total number of children in grades 1-9 inclusive is sufficient to warrant it, a separate wing will be built to accomodate them.

* File F-22, Joseph Burr Tyrrell School, Fort Smith, N.W.T.

Appendix I

REGULATIONS GOVERNING SCHOOLS IN THE N.W.T.*

PART II

(Amendment of July 9, 1956)

19. In this Part,
- (a) "assistant principal" means the teacher designated by the governing authority to perform the duties set out in section 23 in respect of that part of the school in which he is employed;
 - (b) "combined school" means a school where a part of the building in which the school is located has been allocated for the instruction of Roman Catholic children in Grades I to VIII, a part of the building has been allocated for the instruction of other children, and the remainder of the building has been allocated for the instruction and use of all children;
 - (c) "principal" means the teacher designated by the governing authority to perform the duties set out in section 22.
20. A teacher in a combined school shall perform the duties set out in Section 3, except that in matters referred to in paragraphs (d), (i) and (l) of that section, he will perform his duties under the direction of the assistant principal.

Duties of Principals

21. It shall be the duty of the principal of a combined school,
- (a) to be responsible for the organization and management of Grades IX and up, in the school;
 - (b) to be responsible for keeping the school buildings and grounds clean and in fit condition for use;
 - (c) to requisition all necessary materials, supplies and equipment for the combined school as requested by assistant principals and to arrange for the proper distribution of such materials, supplies and equipment;
 - (d) to report to the governing authority of the combined school any required repairs to the building or equipment;
 - (e) to make arrangements for fire prevention and at least once a month to inspect all fire prevention and fire

fighting equipment and to hold fire drill in which all pupils and teachers in the combined school take part;

- (f) to arrange regular meetings at least once a month of the teachers in the combined school for the purpose of discussing professional matters and the general administration of the combined school;
- (g) to furnish reports upon request in respect of the combined school to the governing authority regarding the number of pupils in attendance, administration details and other matters under his jurisdiction;
- (h) to arrange, after consultation with assistant principals, for the most efficient and beneficial utilization of all equipment, materials and supplies, including outdoor facilities, provided in the combined school for use of all children.

Duties of Assistant Principal

22. It shall be the duty of every assistant principal,

- (a) to be responsible for the organization, management and use of the classrooms under his jurisdiction and to be responsible for the use of such classrooms in the manner and for the purposes approved by the governing authority of the combined school;
- (b) subject to the approval of the inspector,
 - (i) to determine the number of pupils to be assigned to each classroom.
 - (ii) to prescribe the duties of the members of the staff under his jurisdiction,
 - (iii) to promote and transfer pupils from one grade to another and
 - (iv) to be responsible for timetables and all phases of instruction in the classrooms under his jurisdiction;
- (c) to inspect daily that part of the school in which he is employed as a teacher and to report to the principal any required repairs to the building or equipment;
- (d) to inform the principal of the kinds and quantities of materials, supplies and equipment required for the operation of that part of the school in which he is employed as a teacher;
- (e) to arrange for meetings at least once a month of the teachers under his jurisdiction to discuss methods of

instruction, discipline, and other matters relating to the operation of the classrooms under his jurisdiction;

- (f) to suspend, for a period not exceeding six weeks, any pupil under his jurisdiction, who persists in wilful disobedience, habitual neglect of duty, use of profane or improper language or other conduct which he deems injurious to the welfare of the school, and to report such suspension to the governing authority for review and approval, and to furnish a copy of the report to the inspector;
- (g) to notify the principal whenever he has reason to believe that any pupil has been affected with or exposed to any infection or contagious disease and to exclude any such pupil until he is satisfied that such pupil can attend school without endangering the health of others;
- (h) to submit to the inspector,
 - (i) within two weeks of the opening of school in each academic year a copy of each of the timetables prepared by teachers under his jurisdiction,
 - (ii) copies of all revisions made from time to time in such timetables,
 - (iii) at the time of the inspector's visits or where requested by the inspector, a report on any physical or mental defects or other abnormalities affecting any pupil's work;
 - (iv) to make such changes and modifications in the timetables as may be requested by the inspector.

23. Where only two teachers are employed in a combined school, the principal shall perform the duties of assistant principal for the portion of the school in which he is employed as a teacher.

* "Regulations Governing Schools in the Northwest Territories," July 9, 1956, Northwest Territories Orders and Regulations III - 73.

Appendix J

FINANCIAL GRANTS TO SEPARATE HIGHSCHOOLS*Yellowknife Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 2Trustee BoardN.W. Byrne, Chairman

April 20, 1960

The matter of separate highschoools is a very real and growing concern to Catholic people throughout the Northwest Territories and the Yukon today. A few years ago, separate schools in both territories conducted highschoool classes and received normal financial grants as provided for in the school ordinances. Now the grants have been withdrawn at a time when Catholic highschoool population is beginning to show an increase, and additional accommodation must be found.

The dual school system has been in operation in Canada since Confederation and has been accepted by practically all Canadians who acknowledge minority rights. The existence of separate schools has not increased the financial burden for Canadian communities, on the contrary, they have relieved the burden for general taxpayers in almost every instance. It is no secret why separate schools have been established and it is generally conceded that religious minorities have the right to separate schools. Freedom of education is one of the prime tenets of our democracy.

Recently a new interpretation of the rights of minorities has sought to limit the existence of separate highschoools in our educational system. The right to separate education is not denied but it can be only theoretical if the right to implement it is denied, in whole or in part, through the refusal of financial grants at an arbitrary level in the school grade system. We say arbitrary because the ordinance states that school districts shall be liable financially for all children from 5 to 16 years, (Section 9) and this infers some grade 10, 11 and 12 students, whereas government administration suggests that no assistance be given to separate schools for grades 10, 11 and 12. The inconsistency of the interpretation of rights indicates a lack of understanding and purpose which is most disturbing.

Through a lack of understanding, there is some opposition to the establishment of separate schools in general and to separate highschoools in particular. The opposition is usually for religious reasons, since separate schools are almost wholly for religious minorities, but this opposition is more often expressed in an entirely different manner, that is, they are said to divide the community, to be inefficient and to be costly duplications.

It is quite possible to show that these allegations are

generally untrue and certainly so in Yellowknife. Since the establishment of the separate school district in Yellowknife, there has been no perceptible division in the community, all schools operate congenially with the greatest respect for each other, both students and staff. The separate school operates at a modest cost per pupil somewhat less than the public school and the Franklin School, thus saving the community tax dollars. The lower costs do not reflect a lower standard of education, for at both schools teachers are paid the same salaries, have similar qualifications, operate under the same curriculum and have good academic records. The Separate highschool does not possess a gymnasium because good facilities exist at the public school available to everyone, however, academic requirements are met and can be maintained at a high standard. There is no costly duplication of facilities at the separate highschool in Yellowknife nor need there ever be.

The administration of the Northwest Territories is generally aware of these conditions and there appears to be no need to develop them further. However, there are points raised in Mr. Nicholson's summing up which, we feel, do require some clarification and with your permission we would like to discuss his findings herewith.

In paragraph three, page two of Sessional Paper No. 1A, Mr. Nicholson states that he is opposed to the establishment of separate schools in principle. This statement by a responsible Administration official is surprising because the principle is a recognized right which Council went to great lengths to establish over the past few years. Throughout the whole period of planning and construction of the Federal highschool at Yellowknife, the Administration, through the Commissioner, was constantly given a clear idea of the position of the Separate School Board.

Mr. Nicholson says it appears the Separate School District is "now making an effort to extend segregation into the higher grades", which implies that he is not aware that the separate highschool at Yellowknife has already been in existence for 6 years. Mr. Nicholson's use of the word "segregation" to identify the rights of a religious minority implies that separate education has an unwholesome aim. Apparently it does not seem normal and just that parents should have the right to choose the education which will develop in their children the intellectual and moral disposition they think is necessary for their future. It is safe to say that the public school by its very nature cannot recognize any extra-mundane authority concerning the intellectual and moral dispositions to be cultivated in students. The Public School looks to society to provide it with aims and hopes, therefrom to reduce them to a single standard for everyone. It cannot provide any training in that supernatural awareness which Catholics and other proponents of Church schools feel should form an integral part of the education of their children. It is because of this unavoidably negative attitude on the part of the public school system that separate schools are formed at all. When they are, however, it is hard to see how the state can absolve itself from subsidizing the

educational effort which such parents have initiated, especially so when it is realized that the establishment of a separate school carries forward secular learning and supernatural awareness in a way which is undisputedly a great boon to society itself. This, in short, is the why and wherefore of separate schools. The spirit of segregation results more from the actions of those who try to foster or provoke resentment against the normal use of a long-established right. Members of Council will recall that the first separate schools in Canada were established in Quebec for the Protestant minority. Also St. George's School in Ottawa is a non-sectarian separate school established because of displeasure with the curriculum of the neutral public school system.

Mr. Nicholson raises the question of how much support there is among the ratepayers of the Separate School District for a separate highschool. Our first reaction is that such an investigation would be an unwarranted intrusion of the administration into the affairs of the legally constituted school system. Yellowknife Separate School District No. 2 was voted into existence by the residents of Yellowknife. It is governed by an elected board of trustees which enjoys under the School Ordinance all rights, privileges, duties and obligations of the School Board. It is this board which has asked Council to provide it with grants. To suggest that the Administration determine the amount of popular support amongst Catholic electors behind the request to the Council is derogatory to the jurisdiction of the board and hardly in keeping with the theory and practice that a board speaks for an electorate until its members are replaced at ensuing elections. However, to assure the Administration, this board is prepared to guarantee the support of Catholic parents, the employment of teachers of highest calibre, that is with professional certificates, and a full complement of students commensurate with normal school growth, if the Administration is prepared to recognize the district's right to the requested grants. If, however, Council insists on infringing upon the jurisdiction of this board, and requires such an investigation, it is submitted that the investigation should be conducted by none other than this board upon a request from the Administration so that the board will at all times be privy to whatever methods will be used and conclusions arrived at throughout the investigation and the tabling of a report.

The remark on curriculum difference is out of place and ought not to be mentioned here at all. It insinuates that the point of curriculum was brought up to cover the real intent of separate schools and Mr. Nicholson's closing remark in this paragraph suggests that our motives, whatever they may be, are suspect.

The purpose of a separate highschool at Yellowknife is not because of dissatisfaction with curriculum, but because Catholic parents do not wish to abandon their children to an institution that will not under any circumstances, acknowledge the existence of a continuing Catholic conscience. This is the prime reason as we all

know. It would be impossible to contend that one uniform educational system could satisfy the aspirations of several groups of people in providing a type of education that they could all regard as satisfying their different points of view. No one school could be that efficient. Catholic parents insist on a complete education through highschool because a child's formation is at its most critical point, from a psychological and emotional point of view, in these grades, and by suddenly reversing the whole meaning we can hardly expect that the child will not suffer. A complete Catholic education assures that the child will not suffer irreparably from discord between what his church and family practice, and what the neutral school seems to ignore or present in a very different light, sometimes a hostile light. When the emotionally dangerous years of formation are passed, the child will always belong to the community, because its influence has always been present in his education anyway, but he will be better able to appreciate and understand in a healthy perspective the differences that exist in some of his fellow men. These are the "quite different reasons" for the establishment of a separate highschool, which may well be in conflict with Mr. Nicholson's opinion.

The cost per pupil at the Federal highschool in Yellowknife no doubt will approach \$1,500.00 annually. The cost per pupil at the Separate highschool is \$500.00 more or less, but certainly does not exceed \$600.00. By simple arithmetic it can be seen from the foregoing that the taxpayers can save \$10,000.00 annually on 10 students, and with no sacrifice in educational standards whatsoever, as both schools have the same caliber of teachers, the same basic equipment, are subject to the same curriculum and the same inspectors. Mr. Nicholson's thought that additional classroom space would influence costs is superfluous because it would be required no matter what school the children attended. It is a well-known fact that the existence of the separate school in Yellowknife saves the local taxpayers thousands of dollars annually.

Mr. Nicholson agrees that financial assistance should be provided equally in both public and separate schools up to the age of sixteen. This certainly presupposes some pupils in grades 10, 11 and 12. Two-thirds of the pupils registering in the separate highschool at Yellowknife at the start of the 1959-60 school year were aged 16, including 2 in grade 12. Could it be concluded from this that the separate highschool has a legal right to assistance for two-thirds of its highschool students during this current year? It would certainly seem so according to Section 9 of the school ordinance. Since it is not compulsory to attend school after the age of 16, then both schools would have an equal claim to financial assistance.

The Administration recognizes the right to establish separate schools but states that the claim for financial assistance is a matter of policy for Council. Are grants to public highschools a matter of policy also? Why is it a matter of policy rather than a legal obligation to both schools? How was this policy established? Is it legal to deny financial assistance?

The application of the Separate School Board for continuation of financial assistance for highschool grades is concerned only with Yellowknife. If the Northwest Territories continues to grow at its present rate, there will most certainly be applications from other municipal districts and for the same reasons. At the present time, Catholic parents outside Yellowknife are sending their children to Edmonton and other cities at considerable expense, rather than send them to the Federal Highschool and because there is no Catholic accommodation for non-resident highschool children in Yellowknife.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that we, as a people, are affiliated with a large number of religious denominations. For rough classification, we distinguish Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths. Supposedly all these creeds enjoy equality of status before the law. Our form of social organization guarantees religion a maximum liberty that is consistent with the external good of public order. At the same time the government itself is not the ally of any creed. It plays the roll [sic] of a tolerant but uncommitted referee whose main concern is to see that the committed segments of society exercise their zeal and resolve their tensions according to the democratic rule book. We sincerely hope that in the matter of extending financial grants to the separate highschool at Yellowknife, the Administration of the Northwest Territories will continue to play the roll [sic] of a tolerant referee.

* Ebner Papers

Appendix K

SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 20, 1960 (Second Session)*NORTHWEST TERRITORIES COUNCILREMARKS BY MR. L.H. NICHOLSON ON THE YELLOWKNIFE
SEPARATE HIGH SCHOOL QUESTION

I spoke on this subject at the January Session and as some of my remarks seem to have been misunderstood or over-emphasized I should like to take a few minutes now to make my position clear.

I think it is a matter of regret that children should be separated in school on a basis of religion. I will not enlarge on this view here except to say that I can see no more need for segregation in school on the basis of religion than on the basis of race.

I recognize that religious minorities have the right to set up separate schools in the Territories. Nevertheless, while recognizing that right, I retain my personal opinion and think it would be vastly better from a social standpoint if all children could study and play together.

Here in the Territories we have a special problem in arranging an adequate standard of education and surely all concerned should try to avoid unnecessary complications.

When the Public High School was opened in Yellowknife it was the hope of many - and I think of this Council - that it would serve the entire community. And it was my understanding that this plan had general support.

I confess that I was surprised to learn at the 1959 Summer Session that the Yellowknife Separate School was teaching High School grades - up to that time I thought the Sir John Franklin School was taking care of all High School students in Yellowknife.

I did not like some features of the Brief presented to us at the January Session. I thought the reference to the British North America Act was misleading, the criticism of the arrangement for use of a Federal High School pointless, and the remarks about the cost and curriculum of that school merely diversionary. The real issue surely is whether a religious minority, having set up a separate High School, may expect a grant from Territorial funds in support of that school and whether such a grant may be given without adding to the overall cost, thus putting an unfair burden on other citizens of the Territories. It would have been much more helpful if the brief had stayed with this point.

Now one or two comments on the follow-up brief submitted by Mr. Byrne under date of April 20th, 1960. In the first place I am incorrectly referred to as "a responsible Administration official". I hope I am responsible but I am certainly not an official of the Administration. I speak as a member of Council and my views are my own.

I am quoted in the Sessional Paper No 1A as saying I am "opposed" to the establishment of Separate Schools" and Mr. Byrne mentions this in his brief of April 20th. If I used the word "opposed" it was used inadvertently - what I should have said and what I wanted to say was that I disagreed with the principle of Separate Schools though recognizing the right of minority groups to establish them.

In the paragraph beginning "Mr. Nicholson says" and again in the one beginning "The purpose of a Separate High School at Yellowknife" are found what I take to be frank and sincere statements as to the real reasons for the desire to have a Separate High School. I respect the views these statements represent, even though I do not agree with them. Furthermore, this is the frank explanation I had looked for but did not find in the earlier brief - that is the brief placed before us at the January Session.

I notice in his brief that Mr. Byrne says that reference to the curriculum difference is out of place in this discussion. I am glad that we agree on this point.

In this latest brief Mr. Byrne also refers to my query as to how much support there was among the rate payers of the Separate School District for a Separate High School. Sessional paper 1 A will show that I went on to say "it was not clear in the brief and members of the delegation did not make it clear how many of the Roman Catholics in Yellowknife were in favour of a Separate High School". While information on this point would have been useful I agree that "an investigation" of the matter would be improper and unnecessarily disturbing, and I am glad to see that this is the stand taken by the Commissioner.

When I referred to the fact that generally speaking children had to attend school until they reached the age of 16 and that this might justify more assistance from public funds to grade schools than to High Schools, I was merely trying to see if there was a factor here which we should take into account. For instance, I had in mind that in some provinces at least free books are supplied to grade school pupils but not to those in High School.

This is all I wish to say about Mr. Byrne's brief of April 20th, 1960, and the correspondence relating to it.

While we have accepted the principle of Separate Schools,

surely it is our responsibility to see to it that:

- (a) Certain standards of education are maintained.
- (b) Waste of public funds is avoided.
- (c) One group of citizens is not allowed to impose an unnecessary or unfair burden on another such as by a course of action which would inflate school rates.

These are my general views and as I would like to have them on record I shall supply the Secretary with a copy of the text of what I have said.

I want to thank the Administration for the useful information which has been supplied to us and which should be of much help in disposing of the issue.

* V & P (2-1960), SP.

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